

TREFFORT Debate
Aug 27, 1858

DRAWER 5

DEBATES

712009 085 07627



The Lincoln-Douglas Debates 1858

Freeport, Illinois
Aug. 27, 1858

Excerpts from newspapers and other
sources

From the files of the
Lincoln Financial Foundation Collection

LXXVIII.

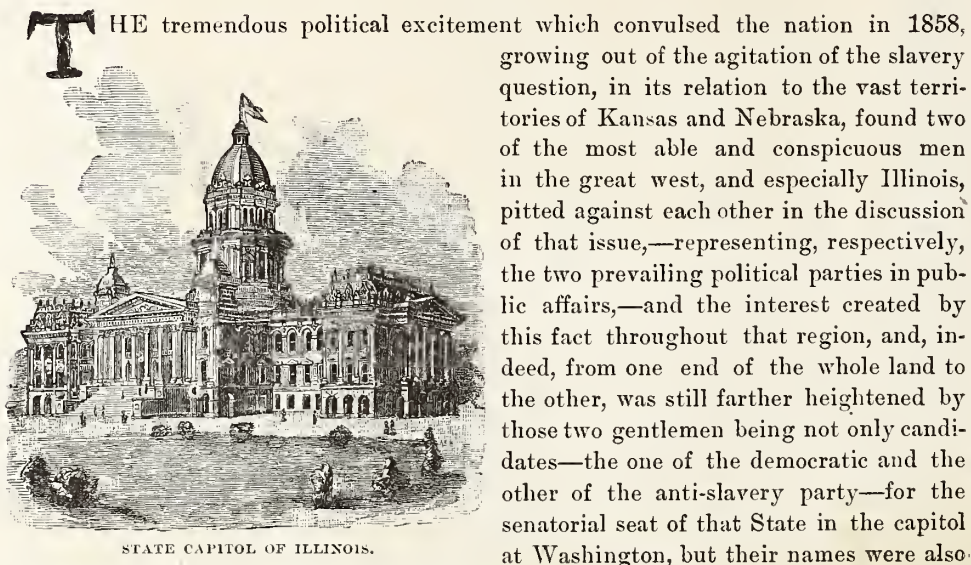
POLITICAL DEBATE BETWEEN ABRAHAM LINCOLN AND
STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS, IN ILLINOIS.—1858.

Cause of this Remarkable Oratorical Contest.—Intense Interest in All Parts of the Land.—the Heart of Every American Citizen Enlisted in the Momentous Issue Involved.—Eminent Character of the Combatants.—their Extraordinary Ability and Eloquence Universally Acknowledged.—the Discussions Attended by Friends and Foes.—Victory, Defeat, Life and Death.—Condition of the New Territories.—Form of Constitution to be Decided.—Domestic Institutions: Slavery.—Mr. Douglas Advocates "Popular Sovereignty."—"Prohibition" Urged by Mr. Lincoln.—National Importance of the Question.—The Public Mind Divided.—Joint Debates Proposed.—Agreement between the two Leaders.—Personal Appearance and Style.—Plans, Places, Scenes.—Theories and Arguments Advanced.—Skill and Adroitness of the Disputants.—Immense Concourses.—Result Impartially Stated.—Mr. Douglas Re-elected Senator.—Mr. Lincoln Nominated for President.—His Election to that Office.—Douglas' Magnanimity.—The Olive Branch.—Shoulder to Shoulder as Unionists.—Sudden Decease of the Great Senator.

"I regard Lincoln as a kind, amiable, and intelligent gentleman, a good citizen, and an honorable opponent."—JUDGE DOUGLAS.

"The man who stumps a State with Stephen A. Douglas, and meets him, day after day, before the people, has got to be no fool."

HORACE GREELEY.



STATE CAPITOL OF ILLINOIS.

THE tremendous political excitement which convulsed the nation in 1858, growing out of the agitation of the slavery question, in its relation to the vast territories of Kansas and Nebraska, found two of the most able and conspicuous men in the great west, and especially Illinois, pitted against each other in the discussion of that issue,—representing, respectively, the two prevailing political parties in public affairs,—and the interest created by this fact throughout that region, and, indeed, from one end of the whole land to the other, was still farther heightened by those two gentlemen being not only candidates—the one of the democratic and the other of the anti-slavery party—for the senatorial seat of that State in the capitol at Washington, but their names were also

looming up in the near presidential horizon of 1860.

The question at issue was immense—permanent not transient—universal not local,

and the debate attracted profound attention on the part of the people, whether democratic or free soil, from the Kennebec to the Rio Grande. Briefly stated, Mr. Douglas took the position in this controversy, that the vote of a majority of the

man were closely scanned. Finally, after the true western style, a joint discussion, face to face, between Lincoln and Douglas, as the two great representative leaders, was proposed and agreed to,—seven public debates, one each at Ottawa, Freeport,



DEBATE BETWEEN LINCOLN AND DOUGLAS.

people of a territory should decide this as well as all other questions concerning their domestic or internal affairs, and this theory came to be known as that of "Popular Sovereignty." Mr. Lincoln, on the contrary, urged in substance, the necessity of an organic enactment excluding slavery in any form,—this latter to be the condition of its admission into the Union as a State.

The public mind was divided, and the utterances and movements of every public

Jonesboro', Charleston, Galesburg, Quincy, and Alton,—the seven oratorical tournaments being thus held in all quarters of the state, from the extreme of one point of the compass to the extreme of the opposite, and everywhere the different parties turned out to do honor to their champions. Processions and cavalcades, bands of music and cannon-firing, made every day a day of excitement. But far greater was the excitement of such oratorical contests between two such skilled debaters,

before mixed audiences of friends and foes, to rejoice over every keen thrust at the adversary, and, again, to be cast down by each failure to "give back as good," or to parry the thrust so aimed.

In person, appearance, voice, gesture, and general platform style and impression, nothing could exceed the dissimilarity of these two speakers. Mr. Douglas possessed a natural build or frame and physique uncommonly attractive,—a presence which would have gained for him access to the highest circles, however courtly, in any land; a thick-set, finely-built, courageous man, with an air, as natural to him as his breath, of self-confidence that did not a little to inspire his supporters with hope. That he was every inch a man, no friend or foe ever questioned. Ready, forceful, animated, keen and trenchant, as well as playful, by turns, and thoroughly unartificial, he was one of the most admirable platform speakers that ever appeared before an American audience,—his personal geniality, too, being so abounding, that, excepting in a political sense, no antagonism existed between him and his opponent.

Mr. Lincoln's personal appearance was in unique contrast with that presented by Mr. Douglas. He stood about six feet and four inches high in his stockings; long, lean, and wiry; in motion, he had a great deal of the elasticity and awkwardness which indicated the rough training of his early life; his face genial looking, with good humor lurking in every corner of its innumerable angles. As a speaker he was ready, precise, fluent, and his manner before a popular assembly was just as he pleased to make it, being either superlatively ludicrous, or very impressive. He employed but little gesticulation, but, when desiring to make a point, produced a shrug of the shoulders, an elevation of his eyebrows, a depression of his mouth, and a general malformation of countenance so comically awkward that it never failed to 'bring down the house.' His enunciation was slow and emphatic, and his voice, though sharp and powerful, at times had

a tendency to dwindle into a shrill and unpleasant sound. In this matter of voice and of commanding attitude, so as to affect the multitude, the odds were quite in favor of Mr. Douglas.

The arrangements, places, etc., for the great debate, having, as already remarked, been perfected, the first discussion took place, August 21st, at Ottawa, in La Salle county, a strong republican district. The crowd in attendance was a large one, and about equally divided in political sentiment—the enthusiasm of the democracy having brought out more than a due proportion, if anything, of that party, to hear and see their favorite leader, Douglas. His thrilling tones, his manly defiance towards the enemies of the party, assured his friends, if any assurance were wanting, that he was the same unconquered and unconquerable democrat that for twenty-five years he had proved to be. Douglas opened the discussion and spoke one hour; Lincoln followed, the time assigned him being an hour and a half, though he yielded a portion of it before the expiration of its limit.

In this first debate, Mr. Douglas arraigned his opponent for the expression in a former speech of "a house divided against itself," etc.,—referring to the slavery and anti-slavery sections of the country; and Mr. Lincoln reiterated and defended his assertions on that subject. It was not until the second meeting, however, and those held subsequently, that the debaters grappled with those profound constitutional questions and measures of administration which were so soon to convulse the whole land and cause it to stagger almost to the verge of destruction. But, as Mr. Lincoln's position in relation to one or two points growing out of the former speech referred to had attracted great attention throughout the country, he availed himself of the opportunity of this preliminary meeting to reply to what he regarded as common misconceptions. 'Anything,' he said, 'that argues me into the idea of perfect social and political equality with the negro, is but a specious

and fantastic arrangement of words, by which a man can prove a horse-chestnut to be a chestnut horse. I will say here, while upon this subject, that I have no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the states where it now exists. I believe I have no lawful right to do so, and I have no inclination to do so. I have no purpose to introduce political and social equality between the white and the black races. There is a physical difference between the two, which, in my judgment, will probably forever forbid their living together upon a footing of perfect equality, and inasmuch as it becomes a matter of necessity that there must be a difference, I, as well as Judge Douglas, am in favor of the race to which I belong having the superior position. I have never said anything to the contrary, but I hold that, notwithstanding all this, there is no reason in the world why the negro is not entitled to all the natural rights enumerated in the Declaration of Independence—the right to life, liberty, and the pursuits of happiness. I hold that he is as much entitled to these as the white man. I agree with Judge Douglas he is not my equal in many respects—certainly not in color, perhaps not in moral or intellectual endowment. But, in the right to eat the bread, without the leave of any one else, which his own hand earns, he is my equal, and the equal of Judge Douglas, and the equal of every living man.'

Touching the question of respect or weight of opinion due to deliverances of the United States Supreme Court,—an element which entered largely into this national contest,—Mr. Lincoln said: 'This man sticks to a decision which forbids the people of a territory from excluding slavery, and he does so not because he says it is right in itself—he does not give any opinion on that,—but because it has been decided by the court, and being decided by the court, he is, and you are bound to take it in your political action as law; not that he judges at all of its merits, but because a decision of the court

is to him a 'Thus saith the Lord.' He places it on that ground alone, and you will bear in mind that, thus committing himself unreservedly to this decision, commits him to the next one just as firmly as to this. He did not commit himself on account of the merit or demerit of the decision, but it is a 'Thus saith the Lord.' The next decision, as much as this, will be a 'Thus saith the Lord.' There is nothing that can divert or turn him away from this decision. It is nothing that I point out to him that his great prototype, Gen Jackson, did not believe in the binding force of decisions,—it is nothing to him that Jefferson did not so believe. I have said that I have often heard him approve of Jackson's course in disregarding the decision of the Supreme Court pronouncing a National Bank unconstitutional. He says I did not hear him say so; he denies the accuracy of my recollection. I say he ought to know better than I, but I will make no question about this thing, though it still seems to me that I heard him say it twenty times. I will tell him though, that he now claims to stand on the Cincinnati platform, which affirms that Congress *cannot* charter a National Bank, in the teeth of that old standing decision that Congress *can* charter a bank. And I remind him of another piece of history on the question of respect for judicial decisions, and it is a piece of Illinois history belonging to a time when the large party to which Judge Douglas belonged were displeased with a decision of the Supreme Court of Illinois, because they had decided that a Governor could not remove a Secretary of State. I know that Judge Douglas will not deny that he was then in favor of overslaughing that decision by the mode of adding five new judges, so as to vote down the four old ones. Not only so, but it ended in the Judge's sitting down on that very bench as one of the five new judges to break down the four old ones'. In this strain Mr. Lincoln occupied most of his time.

But, if the opponents of Judge Douglas were elated at the animated effort put

forth by his rival, at Ottawa, the debate which followed at Freeport gave ample opportunity for the Judge to exhibit his great intellectual prowess, nor did he fail to improve it.

At this meeting, Mr. Lincoln propounded certain questions, and to these prompt and vigorous response was made. 'He desires to know, If the people of Kansas shall form a Constitution by means entirely proper and unobjectionable, and ask admission into the Union as a state before they have the requisite population for a member of Congress, whether I will vote for that admission? Well, now, I regret exceedingly that he did not answer that interrogatory himself before he put it to me, in order that we might understand, and not be left to infer, on which side he is. Mr. Trumbull, during the last session of Congress, voted from the beginning to the end against the admission of Oregon, although a free state, because she had not the requisite population for a member of Congress. Mr. Trumbull would not, under any circumstances, consent to let a state, free or slave, come into the Union until it had the requisite population. As Mr. Trumbull is in the field fighting for Mr. Lincoln, I would like to have Mr. Lincoln answer his own question, and tell me whether he is fighting Trumbull on that issue or not. But I will answer his question. In reference to Kansas, it is my opinion that, as she has population enough to constitute a slave state, she has people enough for a free state. I will not make Kansas an exceptional case to the other states of the Union. I hold it to be a sound rule, of universal application, to require a territory to contain the requisite population for a member of Congress before it is admitted as a state into the Union. I made that proposition in the Senate in 1856, and I renewed it during the last session, in a bill providing that no territory of the United States should form a Constitution and apply for admission until it had the requisite population. On another occasion, I proposed that neither

Kansas, nor any other territory, should be admitted until it had the requisite population. Congress did not adopt any of my propositions containing this general rule, but did make an exception of Kansas. I will stand by that exception. Either Kansas must come in as a free state, with whatever population she may have, or the rule must be applied to all the other territories alike.'

Mr. Douglas next proceeded to answer another question proposed by Mr. Lincoln, namely, Whether the people of a territory can in any lawful way, against the wishes of any citizen of the United States, exclude slavery from their limits prior to the formation of a state Constitution. Said Mr. Douglas: 'I answer emphatically, as Mr. Lincoln has heard me answer a hundred times from every stump in Illinois, that in my opinion the people of a territory can, by lawful means, exclude slavery from their limits prior to the formation of a state Constitution. Mr. Lincoln knew that I had answered that question over and over again. He heard me argue the Nebraska Bill on that principle all over the state in 1854, in 1855, and in 1856, and he has no excuse for pretending to be in doubt as to my position on that question. It matters not what way the Supreme Court may hereafter decide as to the abstract question whether slavery may or may not go into a territory under the Constitution, the people have the lawful means to introduce it or exclude it as they please, for the reason that slavery cannot exist a day or an hour unless it is supported by local police regulations. Those police regulations can only be established by the local legislature, and if the people are opposed to slavery they will elect representatives to that body who will, by unfriendly legislation, effectually prevent the introduction of it into their midst. If, on the contrary, they are for it, their legislation will favor its extension. Hence, no matter what the decision of the Supreme Court may be on that abstract question, still the right of the people to make a slave territory or a free territory is perfect and com-

plete under the Nebraska Bill.' This right or freedom of the people thus to act, and which Mr. Douglas so strenuously advocated, was commonly termed 'Popular Sovereignty,' and, as one of the battle-cries in the great contests, was most effectively used.

One of the most interesting features of this memorable debate, covering as it did almost the whole issue involved in the canvass, consisted of the following interrogatories propounded by Mr. Douglas, and Mr. Lincoln's replies:—

Mr. Douglas: I desire to know whether Lincoln to-day stands, as he did in 1854, in favor of the unconditional repeal of the Fugitive Slave law?

Mr. Lincoln: I do not now, nor ever did, stand in favor of the unconditional repeal of the Fugitive Slave law.

Mr. Douglas: I desire him to answer whether he stands pledged to-day, as he did in 1854, against the admission of any more slave states into the Union, even if the people want them?

Mr. Lincoln: I do not now, or ever did, stand pledged against the admission of any more slave states into the Union.

Mr. Douglas: I want to know whether he stands pledged against the admission of a new state into the Union with such a Constitution as the people of that state may see fit to make?

Mr. Lincoln: I do not stand pledged against the admission of a new state into the Union, with such a Constitution as the people of that state may see fit to make.

Mr. Douglas: I want to know whether he stands to-day pledged to the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia?

Mr. Lincoln: I do not stand to-day pledged to the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia.

Mr. Douglas: I desire him to answer whether he stands pledged to the prohibition of the slave-trade between the different states?

Mr. Lincoln: I do not stand pledged to the prohibition of the slave-trade between the different states.

Mr. Douglas: I desire to know whether he stands pledged to prohibit slavery in all the territories of the United States, North as well as South of the Missouri Compromise line?

Mr. Lincoln: I am impliedly, if not expressly, pledged to a belief in the *right* and *duty* of Congress to prohibit slavery in all the United States territories.

Mr. Douglas: I desire him to answer whether he is opposed to the acquisition of any new territory unless slavery is first prohibited therein?

Mr. Lincoln: I am not generally opposed to honest acquisition of territory; and, in any given case, I would or would not oppose such acquisition, according as I might think such acquisition would or would not aggravate the slavery question among ourselves.

It was with great vigor and adroitness that the two distinguished combatants went over the ground covered by the above questions, at the remaining five places of debate, all of which were attended and



S. A. Douglas

listened to by immense concourses. On both sides the speeches were able, eloquent, exhaustive. It was admitted by Lincoln's friends, that, on several occasions, he was partly foiled or, at least, badly bothered, while, on the other hand,

Douglas' admirers allowed that, in more than one instance, he was flatly and fairly floored by Lincoln's logic, wit, good humor and frankness. Douglas, while more brusque and resolute, was also rather the superior of the two in a certain force, directness and determination, that greatly helped his side. But it was, altogether, about an equal match in respect to the ability displayed by these foremost champions. Both of them were self-made men; both of them able lawyers and politicians; both sprang from obscurity to distinction; both belonged to the common people; and both were strong and popular with the masses. The portrait which we give of Mr. Douglas (Mr. Lincoln's will be found in another part of this volume) represents him at this victorious stage in his career.

As for the result, Lincoln took more of the popular vote than Douglas, but the latter secured a majority in the legislature, —sufficient to insure his re-election to the United States senate, and this majority

would probably have been greater, but for the hostility towards him of a certain portion of his own party, who favored a more thorough southern or pro-slavery policy than Douglas would consent to.

In May, 1860, the Republican Nominating Convention met at Chicago, Ill., and after successive ballots, Mr. Lincoln was chosen standard-bearer of the party in the presidential contest. His election followed in November ensuing. Mr. Douglas failed of a nomination at the Democratic convention. Secession raised its gory front. Forgetting past differences, Douglas magnanimously stood shoulder to shoulder with Lincoln in behalf of the Union. It was the olive branch of genuine patriotism. But, while proudly holding aloft the banner of his country in the councils of the nation, and while yet the blood of his countrymen had not drenched the land, the great senator was suddenly stricken from among the living, in the hour of the republic's greatest need.

GENERAL ATKINS' MEMORY OF
LINCOLN.

Chicago Record-Herald: General Smith D. Atkins, who attended a reunion of the Ninety-second Illinois Regiment of Volunteers at Polo, had something interesting to say of the Lincoln-Douglas debates. He was in Freeport, August 27, 1858, when the debate was held there, and it and incidents connected with it made a deep impression on his memory.

There was great excitement in the town, and Mr. Lincoln's friends were willing and anxious to help him with their advice. When General Atkins went to Lincoln's room he found it swarming with these self-constituted advisers, and his own report of what they were doing is as follows:

The question being discussed at the time when I entered the room was the solemn manner of Mr. Lincoln in the first joint debate held at Ottawa; nearly every one present insisted that Mr. Lincoln should change his solemn method of debate, should tell stories, as Tom Corwin of Ohio did, and "catch the crowd." Mr. Lincoln listened with infinite patience and good nature to all anyone had to say on that question, not entering into the argument himself; after a while, when the conversation appeared to be exhausted, Mr. Lincoln said: "There is another matter to which I wish to invite your attention," and he took from his breast coat pocket slips of paper on which were written in pencil the questions that Mr. Lincoln proposed to ask Mr. Douglas in the joint debate in the afternoon. The reading of those questions was greeted by all present, so far as I could judge, with a storm of opposition, especially with the second question, which was:

"Can the people of a United States territory, in any lawful way, against the wish of any citizen of the United States, exclude slavery from its limits prior to the formation of a state constitution?" 10.12.1858

The objection raised to this question was that it was easy for Douglas. He would make a hit by answering that under his doctrine of popular sovereignty the people of a United States territory could exclude slavery by unfriendly legislation. Lincoln listened patiently still to all that was said, but declared first, that he would not change his line of argument because the subject was a solemn one that required solemn treatment. As to the question that raised such a protest he added that if Douglas answered that a territory could not exclude slavery he, Lincoln, would beat him for the senatorship, "but if he answers as you say he will, and as I believe he will, he may beat me for senator, but he will never be president."

How Douglas took the course predicted and how the entire prophecy came true has been told often, but this testimony of one who took part in the informal conference in Lincoln's room gives us an added sense of the errors that are made by jumping at what seems easy and expedient and popular in politics. Mr. Lincoln's friends were well meaning, but they did not see as far as he did. That question killed Douglas with the south, did away with compromise, helped ultimately to bring northern democrats to the support of the Union as well as to make Lincoln president.

The Lincoln-Douglas Debates.

A legislature was to be chosen in Illinois in 1858 which would select the successor to Senator Douglas. Douglas' action in opposing the administration had aroused public interest in him in the north and many of the Republican leaders desired that he should have no opposition in Illinois, but the Republicans of that state were not of that opinion. The Democratic convention in Illinois met in April and endorsed Douglas; the Republican convention, on June 16th, 1858, resolved "That Abraham Lincoln is the first and only choice of the Republicans of Illinois for the United States Senate, as the successor of Stephen A. Douglas." In his speech that evening to the convention Mr. Lincoln made the remarkable and daring statement: "A house divided against itself cannot stand. I believe this government cannot endure, permanently, half slave and half free. I do not expect the union to be dissolved; I do not expect the house to fall; but I expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing or all the other."

Senator Douglas reached Chicago on July 9th, and, amid the plaudits of his friends, delivered an elaborate speech which was listened to with great interest by Mr. Lincoln, who was present; on the next evening Mr. Lincoln answered in the presence of a large and enthusiastic audience. Senator Douglas then spoke at Bloomington, and was answered by Mr. Lincoln at Springfield, and the public interest that had been aroused, not only in Illinois but throughout the country, caused the Republican leaders to induce Mr. Lincoln to challenge Senator Douglas to a series of debates on

the great question of the hour. Privately Senator Douglas was averse to meeting Mr. Lincoln in this manner, but publicly he promptly accepted the challenge and named seven places in different Congressional districts in which neither had spoken, as the places where the debates were to be held. These great debates began at Ottawa on August 21, 1858, and were followed by meetings at Freeport, Jonesboro, Charleston, Galesburg, Quincy, and concluded on October 15th at Alton, the entire state having been traversed. *By G. E. W. PEATT*

As they read and pondered on the arguments of Mr. Lincoln it gradually dawned upon the people of the north that a great leader had been found, for it was early seen and felt that Senator Douglas was not holding his own. No greater or clearer exposition of the northern views of slavery and the questions connected with it had ever been pronounced than Mr. Lincoln's and the great contest in Illinois was watched with eagerness and interest by the entire north, and Mr. Lincoln, from a comparatively unknown state leader, became a great national character. *1858*

At Freeport, Mr. Lincoln, contrary to the advice of all his friends, asked the question which forced Douglas into a labored attempt to reconcile his doctrine of popular sovereignty with the Dred Scott decision. It was plain that the question, "Can the people of a United States territory in any lawful way, against the wish of any citizen of the United States, exclude slavery from its limits prior to the formation of a state constitution?" could not be answered without antagonizing either the north or the south. There was absolutely no middle ground on which Senator Douglas could stand for any length of time.

Lincoln Gains Point.

Mr. Lincoln was willing to lose the senatorial contest if Douglas could be defeated for the Presidency, and he gained his point, although his friends did not immediately see the strength of it. Senator Douglas, in an artful reply to this searching question, put forward his doctrine of popular sovereignty by asserting that the people could, by "unfriendly legislation," effectually prevent the introduction of

slavery into their midst. When the south read this declaration, so contrary to the decision of the Supreme Court, Douglas' fate was sealed as a Presidential candidate. Owing to a totally unfair apportionment of the Senatorial districts, which had been made by a Democratic legislature, Mr. Lincoln lost the contest with Senator Douglas, who had a majority of eight on the joint ballot in the new legislature; but the Republican ticket won in the popular vote by 4,000.

Mr. Lincoln was forty-nine years old and Senator Douglas forty-five when they met in these memorable debates. They had been thrown together for more than twenty years by a most remarkable combination of circumstances. They had both wooed the same woman, Mary Todd, and Lincoln won; both craved for success in politics, and as Douglas belonged to the dominant party in Illinois, he met with early success, and ran the gamut of political honors and was a great national figure before Lincoln was known. Douglas had been attorney general, secretary of state and judge of the supreme court of Illinois; in 1843 he was elected to the national House of Representatives and served until 1847, when he was sent to the Senate, where he served until 1861; his name had been presented for the Presidential nomination to the Democratic conventions of 1852 and 1856. Compared to this series of political successes those of Lincoln were indeed meagre. He had served in the Illinois legislature; in 1847 was sent to Congress, but served only one term, and from 1849 to 1854 he had devoted himself, with the exception of some canvassing done for Scott in the campaign of 1852, almost exclusively to his law practice. It was Senator Douglas' Kansas-Nebraska bill that brought Lincoln again into politics, with emphatic protests and strong arguments against the outrage. When Mr. Douglas returned to Illinois in 1854, he attempted, with much difficulty, to justify his action, and the debates between him and Mr. Lincoln really began in that year. Lincoln met his arguments, and after a few speeches Mr. Douglas was ready to quit, and made an agreement with Mr. Lincoln that neither of them should speak again in the campaign. In 1854 Mr. Lincoln was the choice for United States Senator, but yielded his place to Lyman Trumbull. He took an active part in the formation of the Republican party in Illinois, and at the Bloomington convention in 1856, which chose delegates to the first Republican national convention, he made a strong speech that attracted the attention of the Republicans of Illinois to him and made him the state leader. He labored earnestly in Illinois for the success of Fremont and Dayton. Throughout 1857 he grew stronger with the party, with the result that he was the unanimous and only choice in 1858 as the successor to Douglas.

Douglas secured the shadow of a victory, but Mr. Lincoln and the Republican party throughout the north, had the substance, and the fall elections in 1858 were decidedly in favor of the Republicans. The autumn campaigns of 1859 were of the utmost importance, and the Democrats made great efforts in the north, especially in Ohio. Senator Douglas went personally into the state, and at the earnest invitation of the Republican committee, Mr. Lincoln spoke at Columbus on September 16th, and at Cincinnati on September 17th. Mr. Dennison, the Republican candidate in Ohio, was elected, and the Republicans were successful in Pennsylvania and Iowa.

COL. WILSON ADDS A NEW-KEEPSAKE

WASHINGTON, Ia., Nov. 11.—Col. C. J. Wilson, whose den contains so many relics of bygone days and events that it would seem any addition would but add to the mystifications has added still another interesting thing to this collection. It was given to him by P. L. Phelps who is here doing some work in landscaping and tree doctoring and is a piece of the only tree now standing that covers a site of one of the famous Lincoln-Douglas debates of 1858. This tree stands at Freeport, Ill., and is over 140 years old. It apparently started to die a few months ago but Mr. Phelps got at it in time and it is again in good health. It is a burr oak, and bids fair to live many years yet, to enjoy its special distinction.

1920

Will Celebrate Anniversary of Famous Debate

[BY A. P. NIGHT WIRE.]

FREEPORT (Ill.) Aug. 22.—The sixty-fourth anniversary of the second Lincoln-Douglas debate will be celebrated here next Saturday with patriotic and political features.

It was on Aug. 26, 1858, that Abraham Lincoln and Stephen A. Douglas met in Freeport in the second of their series of political debates that resulted in Douglas's election to the United States Senate, followed two years later by Lincoln's election as President.

On the anniversary, Karl C. Schuyler, Republican, of Denver, and U. S. Senator Harrison, Democrat, Mississippi, will speak on the "application of the principles of the Lincoln-Douglas debate to problems of today."

1922

Aug 26, 1858
1922

ILLINOIS TO HONOR LINCOLN'S MEMORY ON AUGUST 26.

By International News Service.

FREEPORT, Ill., Aug. 9.—This city expects 50,000 visitors here on August 26 for the sixty-fourth anniversary of the famous Lincoln-Douglas debate on slavery.

Senator Pat Harrison, Mississippi's fiery Democratic statesman, and Albert J. Beveridge, Republican candidate from Indiana for the United States Senate, are to be the speakers.

The gathering promises to be the biggest political meeting of the year in Illinois. Governor Len Small, Mayor William Hale Thompson and the political enemy of the two, Attorney-General William Brundage, as well as all Illinois Congressmen, members of the State Assembly and former Governors Fifer, Dunne, Lowden and Deneen will be invited to attend.

The historic debate took place

here August 27, 1858, but as the 27th falls on Sunday this year the meeting has been advanced one day. More than 15,000 gathered that day to hear of the national problem—slavery—from the dominant political figures in the State.

"Can the people of a United States territory in a lawful way against the wishes of any citizen of the United States exclude slavery from its limits prior to the formation of a State Constitution?" the Great Emancipator asked.

And Douglas replied:

"The people of a territory can by lawful means exclude slavery from their limits prior to the formation of a State Constitution. It matters not what the Supreme Court may hereafter decide for the reason that slavery cannot exist unless it is supported by local police regulation."

Independent - Republican

Friday, September 8, 1922

Published Every Friday Morning.

J. F. GRAWE, Editor and Publisher.

Entered at the Post Office, Waverly, Iowa, as Second Class Mail Matter.

LINCOLN-DOUGLAS 64 YEARS AFTER—COMRADE PETER TELLS OF ANNIVERSARY

J. F. Grawe, Waverly, Iowa

Dear old comrade: I was sorry you were not able to go to Freeport with me to attend the 64th anniversary of the Lincoln-Douglas debate. It may be interesting to you to get a slight idea of the affair as it came under my optics, altho I do not expect to do it justice. It takes a reporter that is trained for such work to write up such doings properly. However, I just want to give you some idea and thoughts that came to me—which no doubt would also have come to you had you been there.

Arriving at the Old Brewster House—where Lincoln had occupied a room—at 6:20 a. m., I found the town very quiet, few people on the streets and it looked as if the city and people did not take much interest in the event that had been so widely advertised. After eating a good breakfast, I passed an hour or more reading, and as the time 10:30 came the city became alive. Autos and other vehicles came by the hundreds. Automobiles now travel so fast that people do not start from home until nearly the time they expect to get to town—and they get there on time, too.

Having registered as a "58er," I was given a ticket for a "reserved seat on the platform," and I started for the Park where the exercises were to be held. I got there none too soon. The crowd was so dense, and the seats (to accommodate 10,000) were taken and the platform had but two seats left, one of which was given to me—thanks.

Some thought the two speakers were to dress and impersonate Lincoln and Douglas, and some even that each was to recite or reproduce the speech as delivered by them 64 years ago. But they both spoke on such subjects only that concern us today—and as seen by a Republican and a Democratic standpoint.

Both made good speeches. Schuler, the Republican, spoke longest, and without the slightest humor. I got quite sleepy and it was a relief when he finished. Harrison, the Democrat, somewhat humorously soon had us awake and laughing. Both men of course referred to Lincoln and Douglas and the famous debate that defeated Lincoln for the Senate, but started him to the presidency—defeating Douglas for the latter and greater office.

Afterward they discussed our present day problems, and when I read Schuler's address in the Freeport Journal I decided that it was the soundest and best—maybe because, like Lincoln, he was a Republican. I, however, did not get sleepy during Harrison's speech.

I suppose Freeport never had a larger crowd—certainly not in that park—for it was simply packed as far as the eye could reach.

I found there was going to be held at Cedarville on the 30th their "Old

Settlers' Picnic," and I decided to tarry and attend, as it was at Cedarville I spent my boyhood days, got about all the education I ever had in the "ungraded school," and where so many of the old schoolmates still live. Many of them old veterans of the Civil war, like myself.

I sure enjoyed it, and here I heard another good speech by Judge Thompson, judge of the supreme court of Illinois. A young man to be in that position—I should judge not over 35. I cannot do his speech justice, but on the enforcement of law, the obedience to law, and the execution of the penalty or violation of law, it was what every man and woman ought to have heard.

I thought surely if every officer was like minded and lived up to his view of the matter there would soon be less crime and less need of officers to convict and punish criminals.

Then he talked about immigration—the unwise laws that have been and are now on our statute books, and what really ought to be done right now to save this republic. There ought to be two "Emmi" laws—Immigration and Emmigration, the first to prevent undesirable and criminal immigrants to enter and another to make such—who will not be good American citizens to emigrate to where they came from. He said that it was a very bad law that permits any nationality having say 3 per cent of undesirable citizens already here to add another 3 per cent of such citizens. (Maybe I did not get this just as he said it, but you will see the point, no doubt.)

Well, comrade, I wish you had been with us. I met several of your old 93rd comrades at Cedarville, and no doubt you would have been pleased to meet them. I told them of you, of course, and they send greetings.

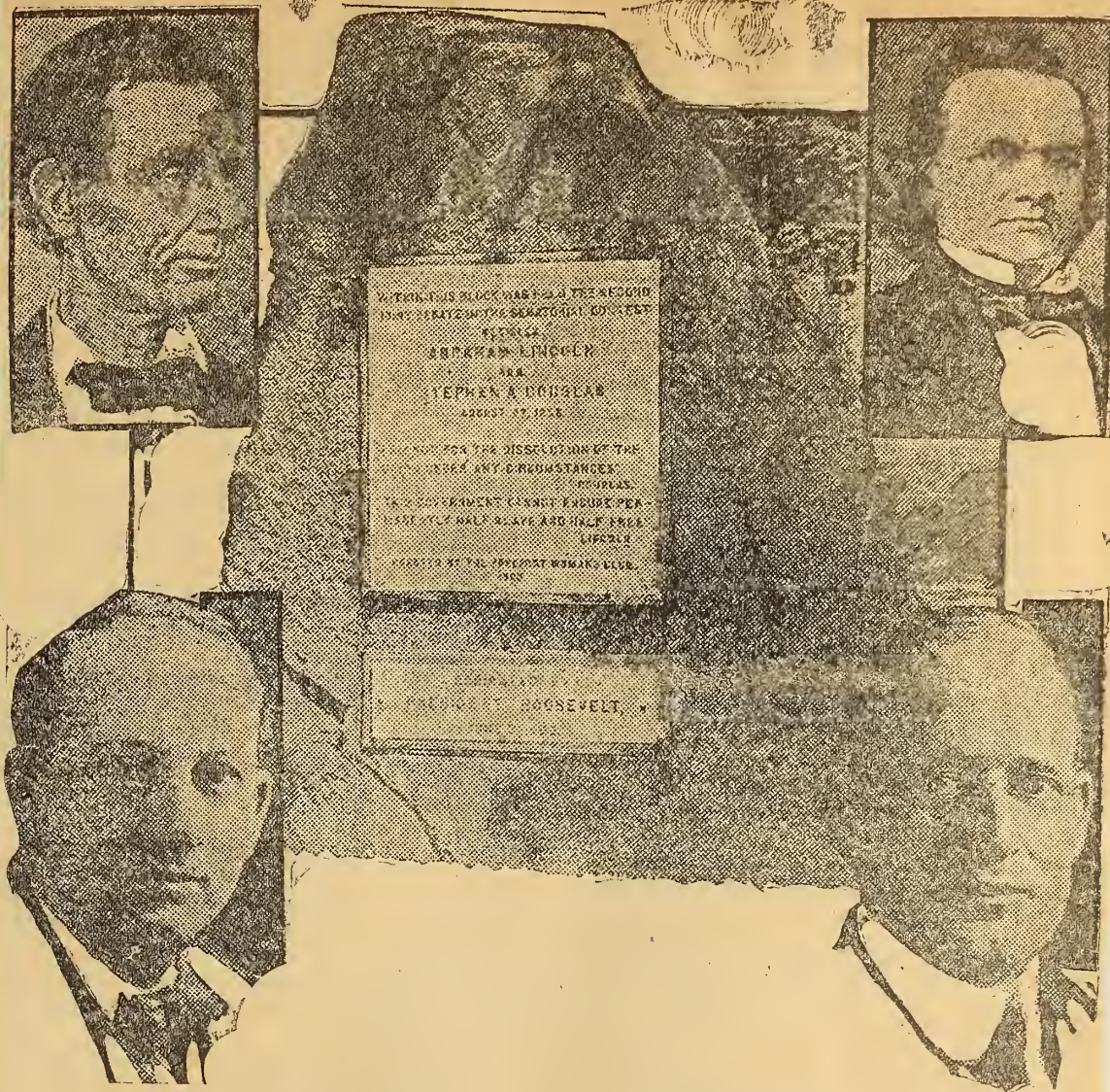
Hoping you may be fully recovered and able to "do duty" as of yore, I remain,

Yours,

P. WOODRING

Waterloo, Iowa.

Lincoln-Douglas Debate Anniversary
Celebration of August 26th, 1922



Upper Left—Abraham Lincoln

Upper Right—Stephen A. Douglas

Lower Left—Hon. Karl C. Schuyler

Lower Right—U. S. Senator "Pat" Harrison

Who participated in the famous debate.
 Lower Left—Hon. Karl C. Schuyler
 Who represented the republican and democratic parties at the 64th anniversary celebration as speakers.
 Lower Right—U. S. Senator "Pat" Harrison
 Center—Monument commemorating the site of the famous original debate, erected by the Freeport Woman's Club, and dedicated by President Theodore Roosevelt, June 3, 1903

The celebration in observance of the sixty-fourth anniversary of the famous debate between Lincoln and Douglas held in Freeport, Saturday, August 26, 1922, was a great day for not only Freeport but the surrounding community as well and brought to this city more than 25,000 persons who joined in making the day one long to be remembered.

In preparation for this event an invitation to join with Freeport and its citizens in celebrating this occasion, the following letter was given publicity through the columns of the press, individual letters and other means of apprising the public that Freeport would welcome them on that day:

To the Public:

For the city of Freeport we cordially invite you to attend the celebration of the Sixty-fourth Anniversary of the Freeport Lincoln-Douglas debate in Freeport, Saturday, August 26, 1922, and join with our people and enjoy with us this day of wholesome entertainment and patriotic instruction in the ideals of American citizenship, drawn from the lives and principles of Lincoln and Douglas, who in their day fearlessly stood for what they believed to be right, and joined hands in the crisis of 1861 to preserve for us the greatest government "of the people, by the people and for the people" on God's earth.

Freeport, Illinois,
August, 19, 1922.

Citizen's Committee

D. F. GRAHAM President Freeport Chamber of Commerce
AL N. STEPHAN, Mayor of Freeport.
G. X. CANNON.
L. A. FULWIDER.
E. R. SHAW.

All day program of entertainment and patriotic instructions. Free Historical Exhibit of Lincoln Times at Mansonic temple, August 25th and 26th.

9:30 a. m. to 12 noon. Band concerts at courthouse.

10:30 a. m. Automobile parade, including delegations from neighboring cities.

11:00 a. m. Daylight fireworks at courthouse.

12:00 noon. Basket picnic at Taylor park.

12:00 to 1:30 p. m. Band concert at Taylor park.

12:30 p. m. Daylight fireworks at Taylor park.

1:00 p. m. Parade to Taylor park.

1:00 p. m. Balloon ascension and daring parachute leap, Taylor park.

1:30 to 2:00 p. m. Patriotic songs by chorus of five hundred, at band stand.

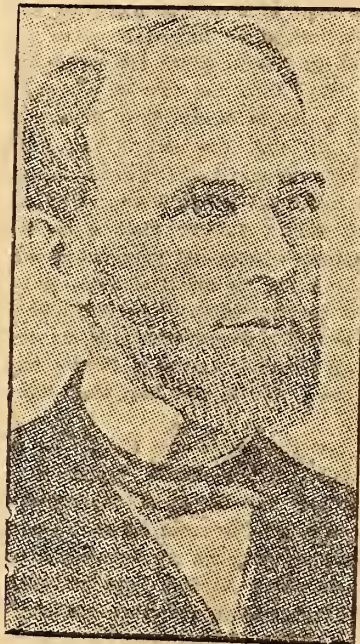
2:00 p. m. Address of the day, band stand, Taylor park. Hon. Karl C. Schuyler, of Colorado, republican orator. U. S. Senator "Pat" Harrison, of Mississippi, democratic orator. Subject—"The Freeport Lincoln-Douglas Debate, August 27, 1858, and the principles of that great debate as applied to the solution of the problems of America today."

6:30 to 7:20 p. m. Band concert at courthouse.

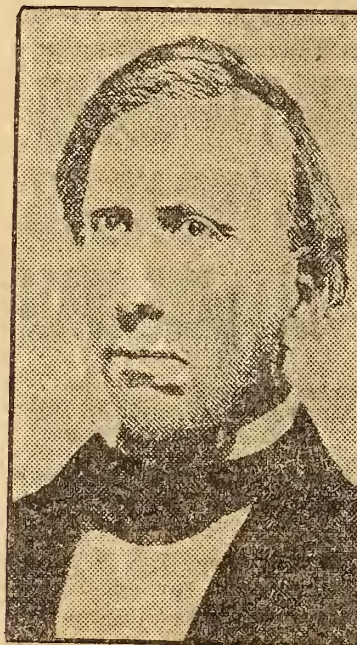
7:30 p. m. Parade, vehicles and costumes of 1858, from the Brewster House to the Boulder.

8:00 p. m. Patriotic program at the Boulder, band selections, quartette, impersonation in costume of Lincoln and Douglas at the great debate. Symbolic patriotic dance by Walter Eson. "Star Spangled Banner," by band, quartette and audience.

Introduced the Famous Speakers

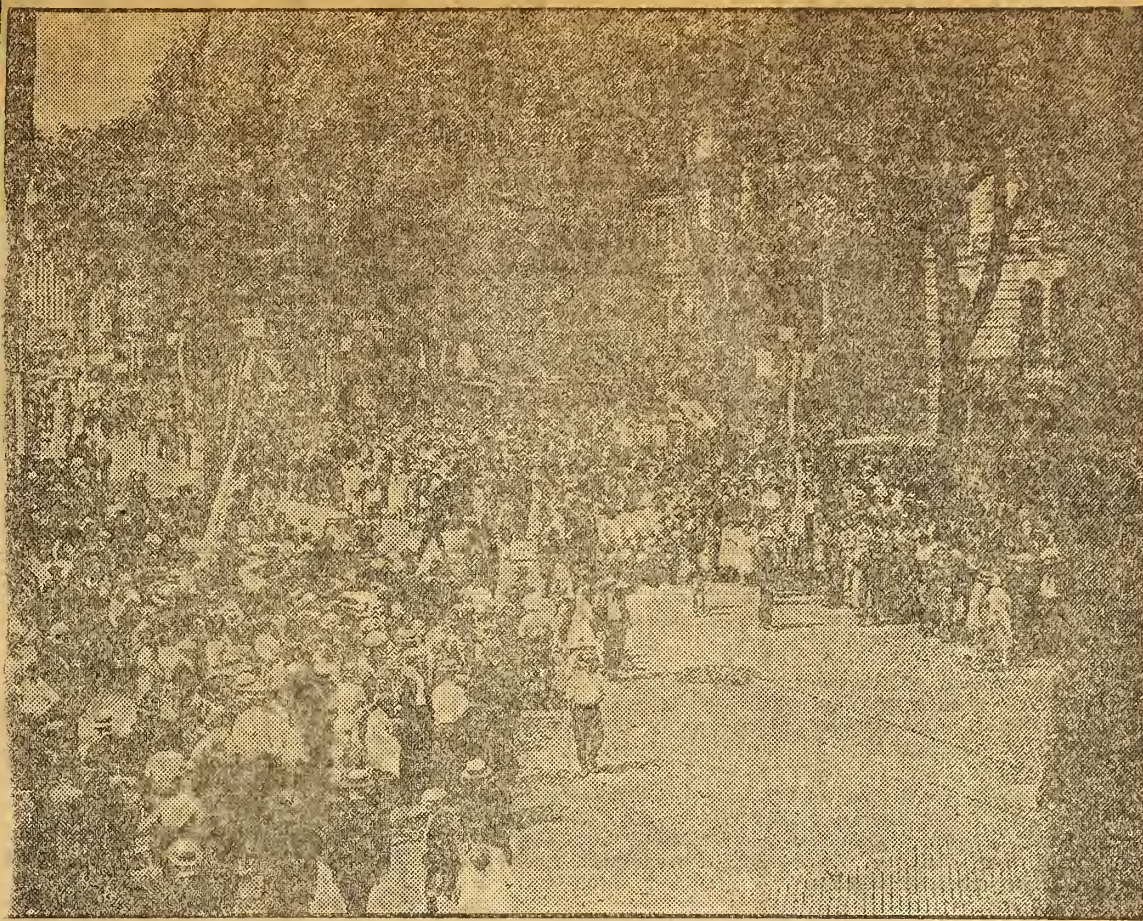


HON. THOMAS J. TURNER

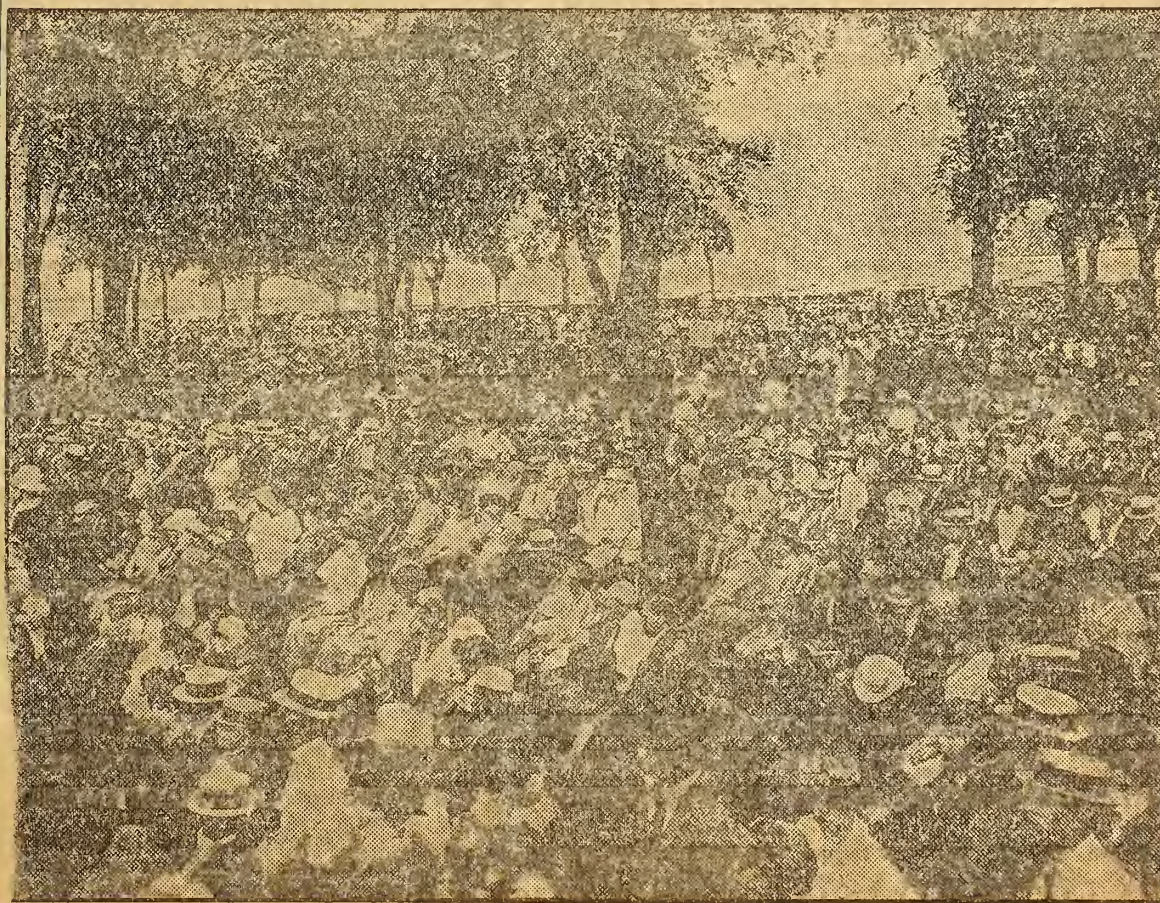


COL. JAMES MITCHELL

Both Mr. Turner and Mr. Mitchell had become leaders in the political and business life of northern Illinois, and of Freeport in particular, before the Lincoln-Douglas debate, and it was quite natural that they should be selected as representatives of the local political organizations to greet the rival debaters. Mr. Turner, an able lawyer, had served as member of congress from the Freeport district. Col. Mitchell, as well as being a political leader, was one of the pioneers in the banking business in Freeport.



Crowds gathering on down town streets before program at park



Throng of more than 25,000 listening to speeches by Karl C. Schuyler and Senator Pat Harrison at Taylor Park.

LINCOLN-DOUGLAS SOCIETY INVITES COUNTY TO JOIN

HISTORICAL ORGANIZATION SOLICITS SUPPORT OF ENTIRE LOCALITY

The Lincoln-Douglas society is launching a drive for membership, in which appeal is to be made to every man, woman and child in Stephenson county.

Like other cities and localities, Freeport has its distinctive assets which lend it fame and dignity and cause it to stand out in the popular mind. One of the chief of these, in the case of Freeport, is its historical interest and significance. Freeport has an interesting historical background illumined by the flames of Indian warfare and the glamour of pioneer life. It also has a story of solid progress and development from that time down to the present. Freeport-made goods are known the world over, and they have justly spread the fair fame of our city. Likewise it is known for its beautiful homes, its fine schools, its civic pride.

Freeport's chief claim to fame, however, lies in the fact that here occurred one of those events that profoundly influenced or changed the course of history. The debate between Lincoln and Douglas here August 27, 1858, is generally regarded as the most significant of all their seven joint debates before the electorate of their state.

By virtue of the meeting on the same platforms of these great proponents and leaders of opposing schools of thought and political tendencies in the momentous era of the fifties, Illinois became the battle ground of the nation. Here were clarified the great issues which led to the final arbitrament of civil war for their ultimate solution. The eyes of the whole country, and of much of the world, were centered with interest upon Illinois.

And it was at Freeport that Lincoln placed his unerring finger upon the practical test of the issue of the hour which lead to the political realignment of 1860 and his own election to the presidency. This was not generally recognized at the time, for

"Seldon shows the choice
momentous till the judgment
hath been passed,"

but its significance grew from that hour until now Freeport is recognized as one of the milestones in American history.

Object of Society Explained

It is to preserve and foster this historical heritage and to keep alive its lessons of patriotism and civic worth that the Lincoln-Douglas Society of Freeport has been formed. As set forth in its by-laws, its general purpose is

"To educate and encourage the general public to think, study, and acquaint themselves with the history of our country, state and nation, and historical events, especially in connection with the lives, works and deeds of Abraham Lincoln and Stephen A. Douglas."

It also aims to establish a bond of social fellowship between its members. It is, therefore, in a sense a patriotic duty of this community to preserve its great distinction. The unveiling of the Crunelle statue of Lincoln here Aug. 27th, the gift to Freeport by W. T. Rawleigh, is appropriately in line with this duty and makes opportune the forming of a strong society for the laudable purpose of recalling and preserving Freeport's historical heritage.

Not only the citizens of Freeport and Stephenson county are invited to enroll in the society, but those of other cities and localities as well.

Elsewhere in this paper will be found an application blank which may be returned to the headquarters of the society as indicated. A local committee has been appointed, which is now actively at work in the enrolling of a strong local society to correspond with other societies of like character in the state. It is earnestly hoped by the members of this committee that a quick and generous response in membership will be made, thus showing that the citizens of Freeport and vicinity appreciate their proud distinction in the story of America.

FREEPORT ILL STANDARD
THURSDAY, AUGUST 1, 1929.

LIGHTS ON THE FREEPORT DEBATE OF 1858

The original Lincoln-Douglas debate in Freeport, August 27, 1858, which will be recalled at the Lincoln statue unveiling at Freeport, August 27, has been described over and over again by historians and writers, yet many phases and incidents of it that are of great local interest have not been related or described by them.

The main features of the debate are well known. It was held Friday afternoon, Aug. 27th, and was the second of the seven joint debates between Lincoln and Douglas on the slavery question. It drew an immense crowd to Freeport and both Lincoln and Douglas were wildly received. Both held receptions at the Brewster House where Lincoln stopped. At the debate in Goddard's grove, two blocks away, Lincoln spoke first. It was a sad day for Douglas as Lincoln forced him to take a stand which split the Democratic party and defeated it in 1860.

Many minor incidents of the day, however, have only come to light recently. Thus it is not generally stated that there was any singing at the debate, yet a boy who was there left a record years afterwards saying one F. Lombard sang very effectively at the meeting. The local newspapers gave scant notices of the debate, although later printing the speeches in full. They were extremely partisan. Sparks in his history of the debates quotes much from newspapers of the time, but appears to have overlooked the Freeport papers. In the basement of the Freeport City Library repose files of these newspapers and they reveal much of interest. The Freeport Journal was the Republican paper and the Freeport Bulletin the democratic organ. As Lincoln and Douglas were opposing candidates for United States Senator these papers naturally "played up" their own candidate and cause and belittled the other.

July 8, 1858, the Freeport Bulletin (W.T. Giles and J.R. Scroggs, editors) contained the following resolution:

"The republicans at their late state convention June (June 15) resolved in favor of Mr. Lincoln as their candidate for the United States Senate. This man, it appears from the record, opposed our army during the war with Mexico. He voted against appropriations to carry on the war and sustain our army, and for this attempt to sacrifice the honor of our country he is to be rewarded with one of the highest offices within the gift of the people of Illinois, if bolters and republicans can do it. Let it not be said that Illinois will send a traitor to the United States Senate).

(Freeport debate)

When Lincoln made his proposition to Douglas, July 24, 1858, for a series of joint debates and Douglas accepted, it was proposed by Douglas that the first debate be held at Freeport. However, it later became more convenient to hold the first one at Ottawa. In a sense this was fortunate for Freeport as the Freeport debate was destined to become the most significant of all. At Ottawa Lincoln had hardly struck his gait; his voice was shrill, and he had not as yet

brought out his famous question that was to split the Democratic party and made him president. This was destined for Freeport.

(The Freeport Weekly Bulletin of August 26, contained the following items:)

DISCUSSION AT FREEPORT

Mr. Lincoln having accepted the proposition of Senator Douglas, these gentlemen will both speak in this city on Friday, the 27th of August, according to the arrangement made between the parties, Mr. Lincoln will open the discussion in a speech of one hour; Mr. Douglas will follow in a speech of one hour and a half; Mr. Lincoln will reply for half an hour.

The discussion will be held in Goddard's Grove, adjoining the city on the North. The speaking will commence precisely at two o'clock P.M. James Mitchell, Esq. dem., and T.J. Turner, Esq., Repub., have been appointed moderators, with power to choose a third.

TORCH LIGHT PROCESSION

Louis Ausendore will supply every one with torches, who wishes to join in the procession to receive Douglas, at this place, on Thursday evening. Let all be at the Railroad Depot at 8 o'clock, precisely, when everything will be in order for forming a procession. Let the Champion of popular sovereignty receive a grand and hearty reception at the hands of the Democracy of Freeport and vicinity.

PORTRAITS OF HON. S. A. DOUGLAS

A supply of Brainard's celebrated lithographic portraits of Hon. Stephen A. Douglas will be at the Bulletin Office during tomorrow, (Friday), where copies can be had on application. This is acknowledged to the best likeness ever taken of our distinguished Senator.

FREEPORT BULLETIN * THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 2, 1858

THE DISCUSSION ON FRIDAY LAST

The discussion in this city on last Friday, between Messrs. Douglas and Lincoln, drew together an immense concourse of people, numbering, we think, about ten thousand, though some put the number as high as fifteen thousand. The weather was cloudy and cold, and in consequence of the high wind which prevailed a part of the time, many were prevented from hearing the speakers.

Mr. Lincoln had the opening speech, and consumed his time in vain attempts to extricate himself from the unpleasant position in which Judge Douglas' arguments had placed him at Ottawa, and some evasive answers to the questions the Judge had there put to him. As in other days, when he was engaged in furnishing aid and comfort to the enemies of his country, he was persistent in his calls for the particular "spot" at which certain resolutions had been adopted, as though that would relieve him or his party of any responsibility in the premises. His answers to the questions which Mr. Douglas had propounded took him clear off the Republican platform, as understood in this locality. He reiterated the stale and ridiculous charge that

Judge Douglas, in his introduction of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, was party to a conspiracy to make slavery national. Taken as a whole, his speech was made up of lame and impotent conclusions, and came very far short of the expectations of his friends. Judged by the effect of his effort on Friday last, we think the Democratic party would be greatly benefitted to have Mr. Lincoln make a speech here each week between this time and the elections.

Of Judge Douglas' speech we would not speak in detail, as we will lay it, together with that of Mr. Lincoln, before our readers next week. Suffice it to say, that it was a masterly effort, and carried conviction to the minds of the thousands who listened to him. We heard more than one Republican acknowledge that, much as they admired Mr. Lincoln, he was no match for the "Little Giant". His answers to the questions propounded by Lincoln were bold, direct, and so distinct as to admit of no doubt in the minds of honest men. We trust every man will read the speeches made on this occasion. If they will do so candidly we have no fear of the result.

Expecting the unmanly demonstrations made by some Republicans, (whose partisan feelings were stronger than their sense of good manners;) while Judge Douglas was speaking, the utmost decorum was manifested throughout the discussion.

In its account of the debate the Freeport Journal, Republican, said in part:-

"Mr. Douglas reached the city Thursday evening, and was met at the station by his friends, and made a brief reception speech at the Brewster House."

On Friday morning at ten o'clock, Mr. Lincoln arrived on an extra train from the south and was welcomed at the train by an immense assemblage of Republicans. He was saluted by the firing of cannons, and escorted by a large procession, headed by a band of music with banners to the Brewster House, where a speech of welcome was made by Hon. T.J. Turner, to which Mr. Lincoln briefly responded in a happy style. All the way along the route of the procession he was received with the most unbounded enthusiasm. Cheer after cheer, for the man of the people, the champion of free labor rending the air. It was plainly evident, that a very large majority of the multitude present had no sympathy with the party that endorses Dred Scott or with their unprincipled leader. Then Joe Daviess, Carroll, Winnibago, and Ogle counties were all represented by enthusiastic Republicans bearing banners with appropriating inscriptions and evincing an enthusiasm and zeal which bode token auspicious results.

A little before 2 o'clock the speakers were escorted to the Speakers stand. Arrangements had been made by the Douglassites to escort their champion over in a splendid carriage drawn by white horses. The Republicans chose a more appropriate conveyance for old Abe, he being a man of the people, and not an aristocrat of the people and they chartered a regular old fashioned Pennsylvania wagon to which were attached 6 horses, all with the old 'strap' harness, and the driver riding one of the wheel horses. Abe was seated in the wagon with about a dozen good solid, and abolition farmers, the bone

and sinew of the land, and they were greeted with hearty applause and cheers as they proceeded along."

"Douglas concluded that the white horse arrangement would not be proper in such a truly democratic camp and backed out of it."

SIDELIGHTS ON LINCOLN-DOUGLAS DEBATE IN FREEPORT, AUG. 27, 1858

The original Lincoln-Douglas debate in Freeport, August 27, 1858, which will be recalled at the Lincoln statue unveiling at Freeport, August 27, has been described over and over again by historians and writers, yet many phases and incidents of it that are of great local interest have not been related or described by them.

The main features of the debate are well known. It was held Friday afternoon, August 27th, and was the second of the seven joint debates between Lincoln and Douglas on the slavery question. It drew an immense crowd to Freeport and both Lincoln and Douglas were wildly received. Both held receptions at the Brewster house, where Lincoln stopped. At the debate in Goddard's grove, two blocks away, Lincoln spoke first. It was a sad day for Douglas as Lincoln forced him to take a stand which split the democratic party and defeated it in 1860.

Many minor incidents of the day, however, have only come to light recently. Thus it is not generally stated that there was any singing at the debate, yet a boy who was there left a record years afterwards saying one F. Lombard sang very effectively at the meeting. The local newspapers gave scant notices of the debate, although later printing the speeches in full. They were extremely partisan. Sparks in his history of the debate quotes much from newspapers of the time, but appears to have overlooked the Freeport papers. In the basement of the Freeport city library repose files of these newspapers and they reveal much of interest. The Freeport Journal was the republican paper and the Freeport Bulletin the democratic organ. As Lincoln and Douglas were opposing candidates for United States senator these papers naturally "played up" their own candidate and cause and belittled the other.

July 8, 1858, the Freeport Bulletin (W. T. Giles and J. R. Scroggs editors) contained the following resolution:

"The republicans at their late state convention June (June 15) resolved in favor of Mr. Lincoln as their candidate for the United States senate. This man, it appears from the record, opposed our army during the war with Mexico. He voted against appropriations to carry on the war and sustain our army, and for this attempt to sacrifice the honor of our country he is to be rewarded with one of the highest offices within the gift of the people of Illinois, if bolters and republicans can do it. Let it not be said that Illinois will send a traitor to the United States senate.

The Freeport Debate

When Lincoln made his proposition to Douglas, July 24, 1858, for a series of joint debates and Douglas accepted, it was proposed by Douglas that the first debate be held at Freeport. However, it later became more convenient to hold the first one at Ottawa. In a sense this was fortunate for Freeport as the Freeport debate was destined to become the most significant of all. At Ottawa Lincoln had hardly struck his gait; his voice was shrill, and he had not as yet brought out his famous ques-

tion that was to split the democratic party and make him president. This was destined for Freeport.

(The Freeport Weekly Bulletin of August 26, contained the following item:

Discussion at Freeport

Mr. Lincoln having accepted the proposition of Senator Douglas, these gentlemen will both speak in this city on Friday, the 27th of August, according to the arrangement made between the parties. Mr. Lincoln will open the discussion in a speech of one hour; Mr. Douglas will follow in a speech of one hour and a half; Mr. Lincoln will reply for half an hour.

The discussions will be held in Goddard's grove, adjoining the city on the north. The speaking will commence precisely at 2 o'clock p. m. James Mitchell, Esq., dem., and T. J. Turner, Esq., repub., have been appointed moderators, with power to choose a third.

Torch Light Procession

Louis Ausendore will supply every one with torches, who wishes to join in the procession to receive Douglas, at this place, on Thursday evening. Let all be at the railroad depot at 8 o'clock, precisely, when everything will be in order for forming a procession. Let the champion of popular sovereignty receive a grand and hearty reception at the hands of the democracy of Freeport and vicinity.

Portraits of Hon. S. A. Douglas

A supply of Brainard's celebrated lithographic portraits of Hon. Stephen A. Douglas will be at the Bulletin office during tomorrow, (Friday), where copies can be had on application. This is acknowledged to be the best likeness ever taken of distinguished senator.

Freeport Bulletin, Thursday, September 2, 1858.

The Discussion on Friday Last

The discussion in this city on last Friday, between Messrs. Douglas and Lincoln, drew together an immense concourse of people, numbering, we think, about ten thousand, though some put the number as high as fifteen thousand. The weather was cloudy and cold, and in consequence of the high wind which prevailed a part of the time, many were prevented from hearing the speakers.

Mr. Lincoln had the opening speech, and consumed his time in vain attempts to extricate himself from the unpleasant position in which Judge Douglas' arguments had placed him at Ottawa, and some evasive answers to the questions the judge had there put to him. As in other days, when he was engaged in furnishing aid and comfort to the enemies of his country, he was persistent in his calls for the particular "spot" at which certain resolutions had been adopted, as though that would relieve him or his party of any responsibility in the premises. His answers to the question which Mr. Douglas had propounded took him clear off the republican platform, as understood in this locality. He reiterated the stale and ridiculous charge that Judge Douglas, in his introduction of the Kansas-Nebraska bill, was party to a conspiracy to make slavery national. Taken as a whole, his speech was made up of lame and impotent conclusions, and

came very far short of the expectations of his friends. Judged by the effect of his effort on Friday last, we think the democratic party would be greatly benefitted to have Mr. Lincoln make a speech here each week between this and election time.

Of Judge Douglas' speech we would not speak in detail, as we will lay it, together with that of Mr. Lincoln, before our readers next week. Suffice it to say, that it was a masterly effort, and carried conviction to the minds of the thousands who listened to him. We heard more than one republican acknowledge that, much as they admire Mr. Lincoln, he was no match for the "Little Giant." His answers to the questions propounded by Lincoln were bold, direct, and so distinct as to admit of no doubt in the minds of honest men. We trust every man will read the speeches made on this occasion. If they will do so candidly we have no fear of the result.

Expecting the unmanly demonstrations made by some republicans, (whose partisan feelings were stronger than their sense of good manners), while Judge Douglas was speaking, the utmost decorum was manifested throughout the discussion.

Arrival of Douglas

In its account of the debate the Freeport Journal, republican, said in part:

"Mr. Douglas reached the city Thursday evening, and was met at the station by his friends, and made a brief reception speech at the Brewster house."

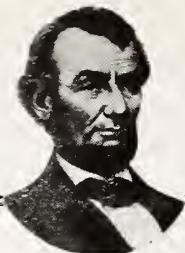
On Friday morning at 10 o'clock Mr. Lincoln arrived on an extra train from the south and was welcomed at the train by an immense assemblage of republicans. He was saluted by the firing of cannons, and escorted by a large procession, headed by a band of music with banners to the Brewster house, where a speech of welcome was made by Hon. T. J. Turner, to which Mr. Lincoln briefly responded in a happy style. All the way along the route of procession he was received with the most unbounded enthusiasm. Cheer after cheer, for the man of the people, the champion of free labor rending the air. It was plainly evident that a very large majority of the multitude present had no sympathy with the party that endorsed Dred Scott or with their unprincipled leader. Then Jo Daviess, Carroll, Winnebago and Ogle counties were all represented by enthusiastic republicans bearing banners with appropriating inscriptions and evincing an enthusiasm and zeal which betokened auspicious results.

A little before 2 o'clock the speakers were escorted to the speakers stand. Arrangements had been made by the Douglasites to escort their champion over in a splendid carriage drawn by white horses. The republicans chose a more appropriate conveyance for old Abe, he being a man of the people, and not an aristocrat of the people and they chartered a regular old fashioned Pennsylvania wagon to which was attached six horses, all with the old 'strap' harness, and the driver riding one of the wheel horses. Abe was seated in the wagon with about a dozen good solid, and abolition farmers, the bone and sinew of the land, and they were greeted with hearty applause and cheers as they proceeded along."

FREEPORT T.L. STANDARD
FRIDAY, AUGUST 2, 1929.

"Douglas concluded that the white horse arrangement would not be proper in such a truly democratic camp and backed out of it."

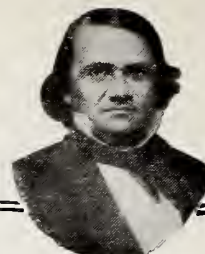
"This government
cannot endure per-
manently half slave
and half free"



ABRAHAM LINCOLN

THE
Lincoln-Douglas
SOCIETY
OF FREEPORT, ILLINOIS

OFFICE—121-123 S. LIBERTY AVENUE
FREEPORT, ILLINOIS



STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS

"I am not for the
dissolution of the
Union under any
circumstances"

August 6th. 1929.

Mr. Louis A. Warren, Dir.,
Lincoln Historical Research Foundation,
Fort Waynd, Ind.

Dear Mr. Warren:

You are hereby cordially invited to become a member
of the Lincoln-Douglas Society of Freeport.

The Society is organized to preserve and foster an in-
terest in the great Lincoln-Douglas episode in American history
and keep alive its lessons in patriotism and civic worth. It
also aims to cultivate the field of more local historical in-
terest. It should be a matter of pride to the people of nor-
thern Illinois that Freeport is one of the milestones in American
history by virtue of the great debate held here August 27, 1858
and the momentous consequences that flowed from it. It is, there-
fore, in a sense, a patriotic duty of this community to preserve
this great distinction. The unveiling of the Crunelle statue of
Lincoln here August 27th is appropriately in line with this duty
and makes opportune the forming of a strong society for the laud-
able purpose of recalling Freeport's historical heritage.

Not only the citizens of Freeport and Stephenson
County are invited to enroll in the Society but those of other
cities and localities as well.

The enclosed circular gives more fully the objects
and purposes of the Society. With this circular is also en-
closed an application blank for membership, which may be re-
turned to the office of this Society.

Trusting that we may have the honor of your membership
and cooperation in the inspiring purposes of the Society, we are

Cordially yours,

THE LINCOLN-DOUGLAS SOCIETY

Donald L. Breed.
D. L. BREED,

Chairman, Membership Committee

RELEASE - Aug. 16, Lincoln-Douglas Society.

THE BREWSTER HOUSE

Freeport, Ill. As the time approaches for unveiling the new Lincoln statue to be presented to the city of Freeport by W. T. Rawleigh, local manufacturer, on the 71st anniversary of the historic Lincoln-Douglas Debate held here, the Brewster House where Lincoln stopped at the time of his debate becomes a matter of unusual interest to those who like to reconstruct important days in our nation's history.

This venerable hostelry bears a plate at the front marked "1858". The hotel was begun in 1856, but not completed until 1858. An item in the Freeport Journal of Nov. 18, 1856, stated that the fourth story was then going up. A group of business men financed its erection. It was considered a remarkably fine hotel for a town of the size of Freeport at the time. The first guests were admitted Aug. 25, 1857, and the list as printed in the Freeport Journal of Aug. 26, shows they were from Chicago, Buffalo, Rochester, Springfield, Mass., Madison, Wis., and as well as Freeport and nearby towns. For many years it was the social center of Freeport. All important functions of the town were held there.

July 4, 1858, a great fourth of July celebration was held at Freeport. The Declaration of Independence was read in both English and German and there were orations in English and German.

In the evening a big banquet was held at the Brewster House and the mere list of toasts as given filled a column. The new hotel was then conducted by Clark & Ferris, and the toast as proposed to the new hotel was:

"The Brewster House - Under the management of its present gentlemanly proprietors and their amiable wives, it must ever be a favorite resort to the weary and travel-stained."

In but little more than a month was to come the distinction that was to cling to the place throughout all after years. The choice by Stephen A. Douglas of Freeport as one of the points for a joint debate with Abraham Lincoln on the issue of slavery was to, bring to Freeport and to the Brewster not only the largest crowds they had ever known, but a future president himself. Moreover, a great turning point in American history may be said to have been passed there, for it was at Freeport that Lincoln forced Douglas to take the stand which all historians agree split the democratic party and resulted in Lincoln's election two years later. And it was in his room at the Brewster according to his friends present, that Lincoln decided, and against their advice, to put his now famous questions to Douglas that were to undo the "Little Giant". It is said he wrote out their final form there.

According to Sam Friedly, present proprietor of the Brewster House, Lincoln was assigned to what is now Room 50, on the third floor, at the corner of Stephenson and State (earlier Mechanic) streets. The ground floor of the building was used for stores and offices, by .C.Little and W. Hyde. A long straight stairway led from the front entrance to the second floor where were the hotel office, a circular bar, the parlors and dining room. The bedrooms were on the third and fourth floors. On the second floor was a balcony along the two streets and it was from this balcony

that Lincoln and Dougals spoke to their partisans who welcomed them and where they also appeared together in the evening. This balcony was taken down by Mr. Friedly years ago to prevent accidents from circus crowds overloading it. Douglas and his friends had rooms opposite Lincoln's, but Douglas stayed over night at Postmaster Brawley's.

When the hotel was opened it was conducted by Warren Clark and Orin Ferris under the firm name of Clark & Ferris, Mrs. Charles F. Stocking is a grand-daughter of Mr. Clark and Mrs. W. E. Boyington is a daughter of Mr. Ferris. It was then one of the largest hotels west of Chicago, but Freeport was then an important railroad point on the Galena-Chicago line. In its palmy days elaborate menus were served, as shown by menu cards still preserved there.

Of course, when Lincoln was there the hotel had no modern conveniences, no electric lights or telephones, no running water in the rooms, no steam heat, no elevators, no signal bells, no fire escapes, no Gideon Bibles. Water was originally obtained from a spring between the hotel and the Pecatonica river. Tin wash pans hung on the walls. The rooms were heated in winter with wood stoves of which there were over 70, and were lighted with candles or sperm oil lamps as kerosene had not yet become a commercial commodity. Huge cisterns were build in the streets for fire protection.

In the course of its long history the hotel has had various proprietors, and for a brief time it was closed. For a time it was known as the Howard House.

For many years it was conducted by Col. and Mrs. J.S.Gates, who restored the name of Brewster House to it. Col. Gates also had

the hotel office moved from the second floor to the ground floor and the dining room to the basement. Col. Gates died in 1893. His widow later married Samuel Friedly, the present proprietor.

In the room occupied by Lincoln hangs a large picture of the old Lincoln log cabin near Farmington, Ill., presented to the hotel by Mrs. Eleanor Gridley, Lincoln writer and author of "From Log Cabin to White House". The picture bears an inscription by her. Mrs. Gridley was a guest at the Brewster some years ago and may attend the unveiling ceremony here Aug. 27. In a recent letter to the Lincoln-Douglas society she writes:

"You will find in the Brewster House, which has been delegated as headquarters for your association during the coming celebration, a large picture, nicely framed, of the log cabin built by Abraham Lincoln and his father in the year 1831, and which as my personal property I presented to the management of the hotel to be hung in the room occupied by Abraham Lincoln when in Freeport on the occasion of that famous debate. I lived in this Log cabin for several weeks while writing my story of Abraham Lincoln, "The Journey from the Log Cabin to the White House". This picture, I am confident, will be an object of interest to visitors during the anticipated celebration."

Beginning with Lincoln and Douglas, many famous men have been guests or visitors at the Brewster, including General Grant, General John A. Logan, "the black eagle of Illinois"; Joseph Medill, founder of the Chicago Tribune; E.B. Washburne, Robert R. Hitt, congressman; General Ben Butler, Robert T. Lincoln, William J. McKinley, before elected president; President Roosevelt, Leonard Swett, Bob Ingersoll, William J. Bryan, John L. Sullivan, Senator Hiram Johnson, Robert M. LaFollette, Judge K.M. Landis, Gov. Len Small and others. Some years ago the late Senator Willis of Ohio and former Governor Brumbaugh of Pennsylvania were guests there. President Roosevelt called at the Brewster when here in 1903. General Grant came to Freeport Oct. 14, 1868, to visit Gen. Shaeffer. He was then the republican candidate for president and remained at the Shaeffer home a day or two. He was also in Freeport

after he was president.

FAMOUS WOMEN ALSO RECALLED

It is probable that the names of a considerable number of noted women could be added to this list of celebrities associated with the Brewster. In her delightful book "My Life Story", Mrs. Amy Davis Winship, who grew up and lived for many years in the vicinity of Cedarville, tells of visits to Freeport in early days of such famous leaders in women's movements as Lucy Stone, Mary A. Livermore, Anna Dickinson, Susan B. Anthony, Tennessee Claflin and Frances Willard. She also recalls a visit and lecture by Emerson. Some of these, at least, were guests at the Brewster. Mrs. Winship tells of taking Susan B. Anthony on a muddy drive to visit an old friend in the country near Freeport. The Claflin sisters, who afterwards married into the English nobility, were generally regarded with abhorrence here because of their belief in spiritualism and their advocacy of personal liberty, yet rose to favor and distinction in England, while Anna Dickinson, the most popular woman speaker of her time, was soon forgotten.

All Lincoln associations with Freeport cluster about the Brewster, which may thus fittingly be called a Lincoln shrine, and it is expected that many thousands will visit it during the 71st anniversary celebration of the famed Lincoln-Douglas debate.

LINCOLN LORE

No. 19

FORT WAYNE, INDIANA

August 19, 1929

Lincoln Lore

Bulletin of the
LINCOLN HISTORICAL RESEARCH
FOUNDATION

Louis A. Warren - - Editor

This Bulletin is not copyrighted, but items used should be credited to The Lincoln National Life Insurance Co. Publishers.

THE FREEPORT DEBATE

This number of Lincoln Lore is published in honor of the Lincoln-Douglas debate anniversary which will be celebrated at Freeport, Illinois, August twenty-seventh. On this occasion an heroic bronze statue of Abraham Lincoln will be presented to the city of Freeport by one of its leading citizens, W. T. Rawleigh.

One of the objectives of the group sponsoring the dedicatory program, as announced in a bulletin is "to recapture the atmosphere of 1858." The subject matter of this broadside is compiled with this idea in view. As many readers of Lincoln Lore will be in attendance at the exercises, it is hoped that the incidents recalled by these columns will assist them in carrying with them to Freeport the atmosphere of this epochal debate.

WEATHER

During the early morning it was chilly, cloudy, and lowering. Changeable winds and occasional sunshine continued throughout the forenoon. At noon the weather settled dismally cold and damp and so continued throughout the day. It did not rain, however.

ARRIVALS

Douglas arrived in Freeport Thursday evening and, according to one press report, "was met by a vast multitude of persons . . . a grand salute was fired . . . thousands of persons flocked from the hotels and all parts of the city . . . a procession was formed and with not less than one thousand torches, music, the cheers of the people, and the thunders of the cannon, Judge Douglas was escorted to the Brewster House." Commenting on this report, another correspondent said, "A gun squad fired off their piece some half a dozen times, because they were paid for so doing. . . . The greatest number of persons did not exceed eight hundred to one thousand at any time that night. . . . The 'procession,' counting loafers and boys, did not number two hundred and fifty persons, and of that number by actual count, only seventy-four carried torches."

"Lincoln arrived on an extra train from the south and was welcomed at the depot by an immense assemblage of Republicans. He was saluted by the firing of cannons and escorted by a large procession headed by a band of music, with banners, to the Brew-

ster House. All the way along the route of procession he was received with unbounded enthusiasm." The foregoing is the reaction of one reporter whose observations differed somewhat from this correspondent's account of Lincoln's reception: "Lincoln arrived in town this morning and his political friends all around have paraded their strength, having at that the benefit of all the delegations, Democrat and Abolition, that came in. Their cannon did as good service as did that for Douglas, it was likely the same piece, but they could not come the torches, nor could they make the cheers which the Black Republicans so much covet, rise above the yell of a defeated pack of 'living dogs.' The only flag they had among them had lost its color—it looked as though it had been of a variety trailed in the dust."

RECEPTION

The Brewster House, at the time of the debate, had been completed just recently, and both candidates were taken to this hostility upon their arrival. The fact that it still stands in Freeport will contribute, more than any other one thing, to the atmosphere of 1858. Here both Lincoln and Douglas were received by the reception committees of the two parties. Lincoln was formally received into Freeport by Hon. Thomas J. Turner, who delivered an address of welcome. Mr. Lincoln made a brief response. Here also Lincoln and Douglas were called upon to greet the arriving delegations, who demanded their appearance.

DELEGATIONS

Of the many groups which came to Freeport in a body, four deserve special mention. The Carroll County delegation brought a band with them and their banner announced "Carroll County for Abraham Lincoln." They arrived as early as nine o'clock. By ten o'clock the special trains began to come in. The one on which Mr. Lincoln traveled, including the delegates from Amboy, Dixon, and Polo, consisted of twelve crowded cars. The Galena special contained eight cars, but the train of sixteen cars transporting over a thousand persons eclipsed them all. It contained the delegation from Rockford, Marengo, and Belvidere.

ATTENDANCE

The local population attending the debate, which was approximately the total population of the town, has been set at 7,000. The number of visitors has been placed at 8,000, which would give a conservative estimate of the total attendance of 15,000. This is said to have been a third larger than the number attending the Ottawa debate. In the morning "the masses blocked up every avenue of approach to anywhere."

PRELIMINARIES

Some of Lincoln's followers learned that Douglas was to be escorted to the place of speaking in a splendid carriage, whereupon they secured an old fashioned conestoga wagon drawn by a team of six horses, the driver riding on one of the wheel horses. Lincoln and some of the substantial farmers occupied this wagon, which met with the approval of the masses. Douglas decided to walk to the appointed place rather than ride in the aristocratic vehicle which had been provided.

PROGRAM

The debate at Freeport, held in Goddard's grove, was the second of the seven scheduled debates. The Hon. Thomas J. Turner introduced Lincoln and Col. James Mitchell presented Douglas to the audience. The debate began at two o'clock. Lincoln spoke first for one hour; Douglas replied to him for one hour and a half, and Lincoln concluded with a rejoinder of half an hour's duration.

DEPORTMENT

The representatives of the press made much over the alleged platform deportment of each of the two candidates while the other was speaking. Lincoln is represented as being very uneasy; "He could not sit still, nor would his limbs sustain him while standing. He was shivering, quaking, trembling and his agony during the last fifteen minutes of Judge Douglas' speech was positively painful to the crowd who witnessed his behavior." On the other hand, according to one press dispatch, "During the whole of Mr. Lincoln's opening speech at the discussion on Friday last, Mr. Douglas sat near him smoking a cigar and puffing out its fumes for the benefit of the speaker and the ladies who were so unfortunate as to be in the immediate vicinity of this 'Shortboy Senator'."

MEMORIALS

At the corner of North State Avenue and East Douglas Street is a bronze tablet on a slab of stone bearing the following inscriptions: "Within this block was held the second joint debate in the senatorial contest between Abraham Lincoln and Stephen A. Douglas August 27, 1858—'I am not for the dissolution of the Union under any circumstances.' Douglas—'This government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free.' Lincoln—Erected by the Freeport Woman's Club 1902—Dedicated by President Roosevelt June 3, 1903."

At the entrance of Taylor Park, not far from where the memorable debate occurred, there will be unveiled at the forthcoming celebration the heroic bronze Lincoln by Leonard Crunelle. It is the first statue of Lincoln to be erected in any of the seven cities where his debates with Douglas were held.

WILMINGTON (N. C.) STAR
Wednesday, August 21, 1929

— Inspection in the School Equivalency —

TODAY'S ANNIVERSARY.

On August 21, 1858, ABRAHAM LINCOLN and his great rival, STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS, began their series of seven debates on the question of slavery.

The seven places, one in each Illinois Congressional District, and the dates were: Ottawa, August 21; Freeport, August 27; Jonesboro, September 15; Galesburg, October 7; Quincy, October 13, and Alton, October 15.

In the famous Freeport debate, LINCOLN asked: "Can the people of a United States territory, in any lawful way, against the wishes of any citizen of the United States, exclude slavery from its limits, prior to the formation of a State Constitution?"

If DOUGLAS answered No, he would deny his pet doctrine of popular sovereignty; if he answered Yes, he would antagonize the dominant politicians of the South, led by JEFFERSON DAVIS, who maintained that the only power that could deal with slavery was the municipal power of a State, and furthermore he would set the local authority of the territory above the Supreme Court which had declared slavery legal in all the territories of the United States by the DRED SCOTT decision.

DOUGLAS answered in the affirmative and tried to wriggle out of the trap by declaring that although slavery might be "legal" in a territory it could not actually exist for an hour or a day where the people enacted legislation unfriendly to it.

Released August 21st by Lincoln-Douglas Society, Freeport, Ill.

To one group present Freeport's great day of 71 years ago will be vividly recalled Aug. 27 when the Lincoln statue presented by W. T. Rawleigh to the city of Freeport will be unveiled at Taylor Park. This is the group of survivors from that day who remember hearing the Lincoln-Douglas debate.

MRS. LEASE HEARD DEBATE

Little by little the scene of the famous meeting of Lincoln and Douglas at Freeport in 1858 is being pieced together by the survivors remaining who heard the debate and witnessed the scene. Mrs. Anna McKibben Lease of Ridott contributes the interesting fact that "Old Shady" was one of the songs sung which made a big hit at the debate and that the singers were two Lombard brothers.

Mrs. Lease, a sprightly lady of 83, attended the debate with her parents and a sister. She remembers many incidents of the meeting very vividly. When her parents came to Ridott, says Mrs. Lease, they lived in a log cabin 14 by 14. Money in those days was practically unknown. Farmers raised their own food largely and bartered their produce for such merchandise as was needed.

"When my folks built a new house," she said, "they moved before breakfast, as they hadn't much to move." "During the civil war when times were hard and most of the men were away many was the day I worked in the harvest field and hay mow and milked the cows," says Mrs. Lease. "I wasn't very good at pitching bundles , though, as I was half left-handed, so I was set to binding and working in the hay mow."

"A group of smart farm girls grew up about the same time around Cedarville," says Mrs. Lease, "including Alice and Jane Addams, Mrs. J. H. Henney, Mrs. C. C. Wolf and Mrs. Amy Davis Winship." To this number should be added Mrs. Lease herself. Mrs. Lease and Alice Addams attended Rockford College together and Mrs. Lease became a well-known country school marm. She says she was known as the "cross teacher" because she insisted on bracing up her schools and making them do better work than they had. For that reason she was also well liked.

LINCOLN LAID HAND ON HER HEAD

Mrs. Charles G. Smith of Dixon was at the debate as a child and her outstanding recollection of it is that Lincoln laid his hand upon her head. She writes:

"Dixon, Ill., Aug. 3, 1929"

"Your letter concerning the unveiling of the statue of Lincoln, Aug. 27th received.

"I am very sorry I cannot give you any recollections of the debates between Mr. Lincoln and Douglas. I was a child not yet 8 years old.

"I well remember the crowd and the fact that Mr. Lincoln laid his hand on my head is a circumstance well worth remembering. I am not sure of attending the ceremonies. Will if I can. Yours

very truly, Mrs. Charles G. Smith."

RELEASE OF Aug. 21st.

COMING TO SEE BREWSTER HOUSE AGAIN

"Yours of 30th gladly received, and I thank you for the thought that I might be glad, doubly glad, to attend that meeting on Aug. 27th.

"I have attended nearly every notable meeting that Freeport has had since the first state fair was held there, and fail to remember of any failures thus far.

"When you notice the blunders I make in writing I think I hear you say 'I would suppose he was a hundred', while I am only just an old boy in my 94th year. Never tired of loving the memory of Lincoln nor tired regarding Stephen A. With profound respect.

"If alive I expect to be residing in Elizabeth with my daughter Mrs. Sol Pearce at time of that meeting. Even the thought of that old meeting gets into my feet almost before I know what I am doing. I know first what a green boy I was then and how little I could tell my father of the meeting and the men when we came home, was I thought Douglas might be called the better speaker, but I kind of thought Lincoln told the truth the best. I remember how badly I felt when Father and Mother smiled. That came to me as ridicule. I did not know the silly little criticism was going to be repeated for the century.

"I almost think at times that Lincoln could never have been what he was had it not been for Douglas. And I think we would have had some more loyal men in the Republican party and in the army if they had all just been as loyal at heart as Stephen A. was.

"My general health is very good but I begin already to

fear that I may not be able to attend that rally on Aug. 27th. I think it will be easier to get there than when we drove that 40 miles in a lumber wagon. Good share of it was in the night.

"I hope nothing may retard the complete progress of that meeting and hope I may be able to look again on that little portico on front of the honored old Brewster where both these speakers stood and made their introductory bow to the living earth below. I am

A. H. Weir

REMEMBERS BARBECUE AT DEBATE

At the corner of Oak and Homer streets stand two quaint old stone houses, one of which is said to be the second oldest house remaining in Freeport. Few now know who built them, but Louis Altenborn of Lena says his father Conrad Altenborn built the second one from the corner as their home about 1851. His father was a stone mason from Germany. Soon afterwards his father sold the house and lot for \$300 and bought a 40 acre farm near Lena.

Louis Altenborn as a boy of ten was in Freeport for the Lincoln-Douglas debate, but was too much interested in a barbecue to hear the debate. He and his mother and father got up at 4 o'clock to get an early start. When they got to Preston's Bottom, three miles out, they struck a line of oxen and horse teams and from that time on they had to stop every few rods and wait for the line to move. They did not reach Freeport until 11 o'clock. At the court house corner a big barbecue was in process. The carcasses of three beeves were being roasted over a ditch about six feet wide and six feet deep and free sandwiches were being served. "Here I remained for the barbecue," says Mr. Altenborn. "As a farm boy I was hungry after a light breakfast at 4 o'clock. I got in line, got my sandwich, got in again and got another until I had three when I had enough. I

remembered that in the parade was a wagon drawn by a horse and mule. At the back was a sort of human figure and a man with a heavy mallet would strike this figure on top of the head and drive it down between the shoulders, something as we now see at fairs." "I forgot if it had any political significance or not."

Mrs. Mary A. Knorr, 114 North Harlem Ave., Freeport, Ill. hopes to be able to attend the unveiling. She writes:

"Thank you for the kind invitation to attend the unveiling of the statue of Lincoln. I hope to be able to do so."

"I remember Lincoln and Douglas very well, being only eleven years old at the time of the debate. I did not hear much that was said, there being a large crowd the children were pushed back by the grown ups."

A flood of similar letters from people who heard one or more of the Lincoln-Douglas debates, or from descendants of others who did, is coming to headquarters of the Lincoln-Douglas Society. They indicate a great interest in the forthcoming unveiling of August 27th, and many of them contain minor incidents of interest relating to the early debates. A considerable number of those responding indicate that they are planning to be present. Others on account of age and infirmities regret they cannot be present.

All persons who attended any of the early debates are cordially invited to attend the unveiling of the Lincoln statue at Freeport, August 27th. On their arrival they are requested to make themselves known and to call at the headquarters of the Lincoln-Douglas Society, 9 North State Street, or at the stand at Taylor Park to register and receive a badge. They will also find reserved seats for the ceremony at Taylor Park.

Released August 23rd by Lincoln-Douglas Society, Freeport, Illinois.

Regretting that distance prevents him from attending the unveiling of the Lincoln statue to be presented by W. T. Rawleigh to the city of Freeport, August 27th, O. J. Schuster, Distinguished educator and publicist, associate editor of the Union Star, Brookneal, Va., pays high tribute to Lincoln in a letter to the Lincoln Douglas society. Linking the emancipator's name with that of La Follette, he writes -

To my mind, the great value of this celebration is due to several considerations. We, of course, all recognize Lincoln's greatness. We realize that his advanced stand on the question of slavery and his refusal to compromise that stand even under the great pressure exerted by his closest friends and the chief leaders in his own party showed Lincoln to be ahead of his time in vision and superior to it in character. We also recognize his farsightedness in the basic question he submitted to Douglas on August 27th, 1858, and his readiness to be a lone champion and stand or fall on the final outcome of the single issue; but few people go to the still deeper significance of what the two men represented for future generations.

Lincoln is one of the very few eminent characters of history who not only clearly understood that knowledge and intelligence are not synonymous terms but who also translated that conviction into his every day deeds, staking his all on the issue. The masses have a different body of knowledge from that possessed by the privileged classes, the more highly educated classes; but Lincoln clearly perceived that intelligence depends less in the extent or kind of knowledge possessed than it does on the use to which available facts are put. Lincoln knew that the common man is less intimately versed in the beliefs and taboos which the privileged classes have crystallized into dogmas during the past centuries and that he is, for that very reason, freer to accept new truths that extend human rights and opportunities to all their fellows. The clearness of Lincoln's vision and the

greatness of his character are manifested by the fact that his appeal to the masses was always based on an impersonal search for truth, never on a desire to profit by stirring up class prejudices and class hatreds. His nature impelled him to seek truth no matter whither it might lead; but his faith in the goodness and the beauty of truth was no greater than his faith in the intelligence of the masses to distinguish between truth and error and their inherent desire to welcome the former even tho such welcome means personal sacrifice. The real greatness of Lincoln rests, it seems to me, on this fundamental trait in his character.

Douglas, on the other hand saw life from the pinnacle of the privileged class to which he belonged. Within that class, according to the standards by which that class measures eminence, Douglas was a great man; but as the centuries pass mankind will see more and more clearly that the decay of those standards had already set in and that their inadequacy was evident to the new seer who viewed them from a higher Sinai. Because they make this distinction between knowledge and intelligence and because they give "the last full measure of devotion" to their faith in truth, it is the Lincoln and La Follettes who lead mankind to social and political betterment.

It is highly important that we, the living adherents to the great cause represented by such a leader, shall constantly put this fundamental truth into practice in our own service by quickly recognizing and staunchly supporting those who today are breaking down fossilized traditional beliefs and taboos and thereby freeing the human mind so that it may welcome new truths. Our efforts will be effective only to the extent that we recognize and frankly proclaim the value of a living Norris as well as eulogize the dead Lincoln. In the field of industry there are men and women who are effectively down long established business beliefs and taboos, replacing them by the principles of mutual aid, and these leaders in business, now happily multiplying in number, are at least kin to the great leaders and should be recognized and supported as such.

Sincerely yours, C. J. Schuster.

CHICAGO HISTORIAN'S ESTIMATE.

M. M. Quaife, Detroit, Editor of the Mississippi Valley Historical Review and author of "Chicago and the Old Northwest", in a letter to the Lincoln-Douglas society comments as follows on the Freeport debate.

Douglas had enunciated the essential elements of the Freeport Doctrine again and again over a period of years, and Lincoln knew perfectly well how Douglas would answer the question he framed on this point. Although there was nothing new about the matter, it was important none the less for it put Douglas on record afresh at a time when the attention of the country was focused upon his works and when, too, the developing schism in the Democratic Party made it exceedingly undesirable for him to have this particular idea

spot-lighted. At least from the time of the presidential election of 1848, the Democratic Party would have been rent in twain at any moment that its supporters should declare that they honestly believed on the issue of slavery extension. By an intense and elaborate effort to conceal from the world and from each other their real feelings on this issue they managed to hold the party together for two more victorious presidential campaigns. Then the pretense could be kept up no longer and over the issue of slavery extension the party finally disintegrated with the years ending with 1860. The process of tearing off the mask which concealed its essential disunity over slavery extension was not preformed all at once. Lincoln's famous question to Douglas at Freeport and the latter's answer which became known as the Freeport Doctrine was the one important step in the unmasking process. The Dred Scott case and the Lecompton Constitution were other such steps. Herein, as I understand it, consists the chief significance of the Freeport debate.

Sincerely yours,
M. M. Quaife.

FATE OF NATION WAS DECIDED IN FREEPORT DEBATE

LINCOLN MADE ADVANCEMENT
ON THAT DAY TOWARD
PRESIDENCY

"FREEPORT DOCTRINE" SPLIT
DEMOCRATIC PARTY LATER

Douglas Forced to Renounce Dred
Scott Decision in
Argument

The now familiar phrase "The fate of the nation was decided in Freeport that day," has a recurring significance with the seventy-first anniversary of the great Lincoln-Douglas debate, and events of that early period when these two statesmen, one destined later to write his name in letters of immortal glory throughout the world come back to the memory of old residents as they live over again the stirring times of 1858.

Freeport on August 27, of that year was the Mecca for thousands who made the journey in what now is considered primitive fashion and felt well repaid for the ardors of travel and returned to their respective homes happy and satisfied in the knowledge of having seen and heard these two national figures in the flesh.

The two central figures in the oratory which was to be staged arrived in Freeport at different times, Douglas reaching here the evening before the debate, accompanied by his wife. The train on which they were passengers was gaily decorated and loud acclaim was given the distinguished visitor. A parade was

quickly formed and bands played, while from windows and balconies salutes of waving handkerchiefs from the fair sex welcomed the famous man. At least a thousand were in line of march when the torch light procession wended its way through the downtown streets of Freeport and cheering thousands lined the walks to acclaim Douglas. The man's personality, always verging on the spectacular, made him a great favorite with the happy crowd and he was dressed in the height of fashion of the times. Though small of stature he had the strut of superiority and his general appearance was one of prosperity and dominance.

Lincoln Arrives Later

Lincoln arrived in Freeport on the morning of the debate and his coming had been delayed until the crowd grew impatient and were inclined to believe that he would not appear. He was soon busy in conference with members of the republican party as was his opponent with the democrats and later it became necessary for the two distinguished men to appear together on the balcony of the old Brewster hotel in order to appease the multitude.

Lincoln was dressed in striking contrast to his opponent and wore an old shabby looking suit and plug hat. His trousers bagged at the knees; his shoes were dusty and his suit faded and worn.

The Question That Split Party

Through the morning Lincoln conferred with a number of republican leaders, including Joseph Medill, Norman B. Judd, and Dr. C. H. Ray, Chicago, over four questions he intended to ask Douglas. Every advisor oposed the plan. The second question and the one Lincoln clung to most tenaciously read:

"Can the people of a United States territory, in any lawful way, against the wish of any citizen of the United States exclude slavery from its limits, prior to the adoption of a state constitution?"

"Nearly all present urged that Mr. Douglas would make answer, that

under his doctrine of 'popular sovereignty' any territory could by legislation exclude slavery and that such an answer would catch the crowd and beat Mr. Lincoln as a candidate for senator from Illinois," declared General Smith D. Atkins, a participant of the conference recounting the scene in later life. Lincoln listened attentively to all discussions. He pondered the consequences a long time.

"I don't know how Senator Douglas will answer," he finally responded. "If he answers that the people of a territory cannot exclude slavery I will beat him. But if he answers as you say he will, and as I believe he will, he may beat me for senator, but he will never be president."

Before 2 o'clock people had finished their lunches sitting about the streets and were rushing to the grove that then stood to the rear of the Brewster house. The crowd that formed a circle around the frail little stand was so compact that Robert Hitt, later congressman, then the reporter for the Chicago Press and Tribune, had to be lifted over the heads of the people.

Trip to Debate

Commenting on the trip of the two debaters from the hotel to the grove where the debating platform was located, the press of that day made mention of the ride as follows: "It had been planned to take Douglas to the speaking place in a handsome carriage, when Lincoln's friends hearing of this decided to produce a handsome contrast and the republican committee sent word to Uncle John Wolfe of Lancaster township to come to Freeport with six of his handsome horses drawing his fine Conestoga wagon in which he had but recently driven from Pennsylvania. Lincoln stoutly protested against the plan, but finally consented. Amid the cheers of republicans and democrats alike he climbed into the wagon, followed by a dozen of his enthusiastic supporters from the farming contingent, and was drawn to the place of speaking. The driver

of the team rode the "nigh" wheel horse and drove the six horses with a single rein.

When Douglas was informed of Lincoln's conveyance, he decided to abandon the fine carriage and the dapple grays and walked to the speaker's platform with Colonel

Promptly at 2 o'clock Mr. Lincoln opened the debate, having been presented by Thomas Turner. For the first time in the many contests with Senator Douglas, Lincoln stepped before his audience with an air of masterfulness. He put his question with a great degree of eagerness and when time came for Douglas to reply he did so without hesitation and answered Lincoln's question as his friends predicted he would, while the Douglas faction of the crowd applauded wildly.

"In my opinion," responded Senator Douglas, in tones which carried distinctly to the outermost edges of the vast assemblage, "the people of a territory can by lawful means exclude slavery from their limits prior to the formation of a state constitution. It matters not which way the supreme court may hereafter decide as the abstract question, whether slavery may go into the territory under the constitution, the people have the lawful means to exclude it or to introduce it as they please, for the reason that slavery cannot exist a day or an hour anywhere, unless it is supported by local police regulations."

"The purpose of Lincoln's question was to force Douglas to either renounce the Dred Scott decision that

slavery could not be excluded from a territory or to abandon his "Popular Sovereignty" doctrine that the people of a territory had a right to regulate their own affairs. No matter which answer he would make the aspirations of Senator Douglas to become the democratic candidate for the presidency in 1860.

The "Freeport Doctrine"

The answer which Senator Douglas gave was a refutation of the Dred Scott decision to which the south clung with tenacious hope. The "Freeport Doctrine," as it is now called split the democratic party. From newspapers and forums in the south Douglas was immediately denounced as an "apostate."

All over northern Illinois the democratic papers applauded Douglas' triumphant reply. The other debates did not change events.

Douglas made 130 speeches and expended \$80,000 to \$1,000 spent by Lincoln. Douglas was chosen United States senator by a majority of eight legislative votes. Lincoln as the leader of a new party won a popular majority, the total republican vote cast being 126,084 to 121,940 for the Douglas ticket. Had popular elections of United States senators been the governmental policy then as it now is, Lincoln would have been chosen United States senator.

Made Advance Here

Historians and chroniclers of Lincoln name Freeport as the place where Abraham Lincoln began his forward movement which actually placed him in the presidential chair.

REASONS GIVEN FOR GREATNESS OF EMANCIPATOR

**H. J. BURGSTHALER, PRESIDENT CORNELL COLLEGE
GIVES VIEWS**

**WAS CONSIDERED MAN OF
ELEMENTAL INTEGRITY**

**Built Political Structure Upon
Basic Moral Principles**

Dr. H. J. Burgstahler, president of Cornell college, gave a very interesting discourse at today's celebration speaking on the theme of "Why Abraham Lincoln Was America's Greatest Statesman." He explained in a careful and interesting manner the reasons for the greatness of the emancipator. Dr. Burgstahler is a forceful and convincing speaker and his address was listened to intently by the large gathering. He spoke as follows:

"We are celebrating today one of the outstanding events of American history. Great movements almost universally have their beginnings in what seemed at the time rather incidental episodes. The Lincoln-Douglas debate which took place here seventy-one years ago was the genesis of a movement which did more to emphasize the equality of all men than any other similar episode in the history of America. When Abraham Lincoln propounded his famous question to Douglas, "Can the people of a United States territory in any lawful way against the wish of any citizen of the United States exclude slavery from its limits prior to formation of a state constitution?" he asked a question which resulted in, first, bringing the slave question to the forefront of the thinking of the American people; second, bringing clearly before America the sacredness of all human personality; third, a movement which resulted ultimately in the breakdown of the then Democratic party; fourth, in the building of the Republican party upon a solid foundation of moral principles."

"Abraham Lincoln had been a character of statewide influence for some time. He had not risen to the height of national influence in any large degree up to this time. His famous debate with Douglas here on this spot brought him into national pre-eminence, indeed it was the propounding of the above question which made for the defeat of Douglas for the presidency of the United State and for the ultimate election of Abraham Lincoln. We are therefore celebrating today one of the greatest episodes in our national life. We are celebrating it most auspiciously. Nothing could be more appropriate than the erecting of this noble monument to America's greatest statesman on the very day of one of America's greatest debates. I desire to congratulate Freeport upon having been the center of so great a beginning. I congratulate Freeport upon having developed a citizen in the person of Mr. W. T. Rawleigh who is so patriotic in his spirit and so appreciative of this great event that he is willing to contribute to the city of Freeport this representation of Abraham Lincoln."

"One naturally asks: 'Why this auspicious event?' There can be only one answer to this question and that answer is Abraham Lincoln. It was he who initiated this debate as one of the series in the senatorial campaign in which he engaged. When we have said this there is still left a greater question, "What made Abraham Lincoln America's greatest statesman?" If we can answer this question aright we get at the basis of all great statesmanship. I could not possibly cover the many fundamental reasons underlying Abraham Lincoln's statesmanship. I will, however, state what seemed to me to be a few of the great fundamentalists."



DR. H. J. BURGSTHALER

Dr. Burgstahler was born at Buffalo Lake, Minn., Nov. 24, 1886. He received his education at the University of Minnesota and Boston University, and has held pastorates at Minneapolis, Buffalo and Rochester, N. Y. He has been president of Cornell College, Mt. Vernon, Ia., since 1927.

"This characteristic seems axiomatic. We have heard so many times of his conveying the extra ounces of tea to the patron six miles away that we are tempted to smile when we hear any speaker relate the episode. I could today present many other episodes which indicate more perfectly this characteristic of the man we today honor. Perhaps his "National Debt" as we called it, coming out of the deceit of his merchant partner, Bery, as also out of the refusal of the Trent Brothers to whom he sold his mercantile business to pay, is a less familiar but even more telling episode. He spent many years defraying this debt for which he was not responsible, but his honor was so great that he refused to permit

Man of Elemental Integrity

Freeport Journal 8-27-29

his creditors to lose a cent of the money which he had underwritten. In addressing young attorneys, he said, "Resolve to be honest at all times." Lincoln could not bear implied dishonesty. He felt that Douglas was lacking in honor. For that reason he disliked him. He felt that Douglas' popular sovereignty principle was pure expediency. Douglas said, "If Kansas wants a slave state constitution she has a right to it. It is none of my business which way the slavery question is decided. I care not whether it is voted up or down." When Douglas discovered that his Freeport doctrine of popular sovereignty was looked upon with disfavor by the southern states, he made a tour of the south in which he declared that he was not interested in slavery. On the sugar plantations of Louisiana he said it was not a question between the white man and the negro but between the negro and the crocodile. He would say that between the negro and crocodile he would take the part of the negro, but that between the negro and the white man he would take the part of the white man. The Almighty had drawn a line on this continent on the one side of which the soil must be cultivated by slave labor, on the other side by white labor." This kind of political strategy Lincoln could not tolerate. He was a man of fundamental integrity. "Victory at any price" was not his slogan. It is this kind of Lincoln honesty that politics needs today more than anything else. A moral sensitiveness to truth, to honor, that is the fundamental requirement today if the Lincoln type of statesmanship is to motivate American politics."

Built Political Structure Upon Basic Moral Principles

"He did not build on political sand. He did not have his ear to the ground that he might pick up superficial popular opinion and then take the side of what seemed to be surface majority mindedness. This was the kind of political ephemerism which played no part in his political make-up. In his letter to a Kansas friend, May 14, 1859, he wrote, 'You will probably adopt resolutions in the

nature of a platform. I think the only temptation will be to lower the Republican standard in order to gather recruits. In my judgment such a step would be a serious mistake.' To Schuyler Colfax, afterwards vice-president, he said in a letter dated July 6, 1859. The point of danger is the temptation in different localities to platform for something which will be popular just there, but which will nevertheless be a firebrand elsewhere. We want and must have, said he, a national policy as to slavery which deals with it as being wrong. Memorable among his many statements in this one, 'Let us have faith that right makes might and in that faith let us to the end dare to do our duty as we understand it.' This characteristic of building political structure on fundamental rock principle was evident when he was in the legislature as well as afterwards. A committee resolved the right of property in slaves to the slave-holding states by the Federal Constitution, Lincoln and Dan Stone, his colleague, protested against this resolution, as follows: 'We believe that the institution of slavery is founded on both injustice and bad policy.'

"Again, my friends, we get at a basic principle of Lincoln's superior statesmanship, principle rule, from principle he would not deviate."

Believed in Sacredness of Human Personality

"Henry Churchill King in one of his works coined the above phrase 'the sacredness of human personality.' Abraham Lincoln was absolutely committed to the equality of all men. He believed that the colored man had a soul. He said, 'He who would be no slave, must consent to have no slave.' Jefferson Davis at one time stated, 'We want nothing more than a simple declaration that negro slaves are property.' Such a statement would arouse in Abraham Lincoln righteous indignation. Such sophistry as the Dred-Scott Decision and the Nebraska Bill brought forth

in Lincoln the expression of those inherent qualities of righteousness which led him to head a great movement for the complete abolition of slavery. He believed in Jesus' statement, 'This is my commandment that you love one another.'

Was Nationally Minded

"He was not a narrow Chauvinist. He did not wish sectionalism. He believed that a law which was good for one part of America was good for the rest. In his 'house divided against itself' speech, we remember he said, 'A house divided against itself cannot stand. I believe this government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free. I do not expect the union to be dissolved,—I do not expect the house to fall,—but I do expect it will cease to be divided.' It was this universal mindedness, coupled with a progressive spirit, that made Lincoln a man of superior statesmanship."

"I have in this cursory way, Ladies and Gentlemen, presented a few of the fundamental principles which made for Lincoln's greatness as a statesman. We need today more Lincolns. How can we develop them? It is my contention that it is the business of the public schools to develop these fundamental principles which I have here enunciated in the lives of our young men and women so that they too, will stand preeminently for great political virtues when great issues come to their attention. It is particularly the business of the college today to develop great political statesmen. I feel confident that this occasion will result in the stimulation of real progressivism built on fundamental principles of integrity and righteousness on the part of scores of young men and women who will lead tomorrow. May this statue of Lincoln ever symbolize to the youth who tomorrow hold the torch of leadership those great qualities which made Abraham Lincoln the master statesman of the ages."

LINCOLN, THE DEBATER

On the seventy-first anniversary of Lincoln's memorable debate with Judge Douglas at Freeport that city has dedicated a bronze of the Emancipator in the role which he cast in 1858—the debater. Lincoln's rugged features have been chiseled as the Emancipator, as the thinker, and as the statesman, but the Crunelle bronze depicts him in the character which Illinois best knew him, the campaigner.

Lincoln and Douglas began their memorable series of debates at Ottawa. Next came Freeport. Douglas was met there by a torchlight procession; the Chicago Times counted 100 torches, the Chicago Press and Tribune counted but 74. Lincoln rode to the speaking stand in a covered wagon drawn by six white horses, Carl Sandburg recounts. Fifteen thousand ranged themselves about the platform and braved three hours of raw weather, punctuated by rain and wind, to hear the orators on the recent Dred Scott decision. Lincoln had hardly begun with, "Fellow citizens, ladies and gentlemen," than Deacon William Bross of the Chicago Press and Tribune cried out, "Hold on, Lincoln, you can't speak yet. Hitt ain't here." The debate waited until Hitt, the shorthand reporter, could be found. From Freeport Lincoln went to Galesburg, where on October 7 the debate familiar to many in Knox and Henry counties took place.

It was at Freeport, the Davenport Democrat editor recalls, that America reached "The Crisis" which Winston Churchill made the crux of his historical novel by that name. En route to Freeport, Churchill records, Lincoln unfolded a crumpled bit of scrap paper.

"Now Joe," he said to Joseph Medill of the Tribune, "here are the four questions I intend to ask Judge Douglas."

To take up Winston Churchill's chronicle:

"We don't care anything about the others," answered Mr. Medill. "But I tell you this. If you ask that second one, you'll never see the United States senate."

Mr. Lincoln did not seem to hear them. His eyes were far away over the wet prairie. . . .

Suddenly he recalled himself, glanced at the paper, and cleared his throat. In measured tones, plainly heard above the rush and roar of the train, he read the question:

"Can the people of a United States territory, in any lawful way, against the wish of any citizen of the United States, exclude slavery from its limits prior to the formation of a state constitution?"

Mr. Medill listened intently.

"Abe," he said solemnly, "Douglas will answer yes, or equivocate, and that is all the assurance these northern democrats want to put Steve Douglas in the senate. They'll snow you under."

"All right," answered Mr. Lincoln quietly.

"All right?" asked Mr. Medill, reflecting the sheer astonishment of the others; "then why the devil are you wearing yourself out? And why are we spending our time and money on you?"

Mr. Lincoln laid his hand on Medill's sleeve.

"Joe," said he, "a rat in the larder is easier to catch than a rat that has the run of the cellar. You know where to set your trap in the larder. I'll tell you why I'm in this campaign: to catch Douglas now, and keep him out of the white house in 1860. To save this country of ours, Joe. She's sick." . . .

"Suppose he does answer yes, that slavery can be excluded?" asked Mr. Judd.

"Then," said Mr. Lincoln, "then Douglas loses the vote of the great slave-holders, the vote of the solid south, that he has been fostering ever since he had the itch to be president. Without the solid south the Little Giant will never live in the white house. And unless I'm mightily mistaken, Steve Douglas has had his eye as far ahead as 1860 for some time."

And so it happened. Lincoln thundered his question, and Douglas could not dodge. To take up Churchill's story again:

"Judge, you thought there was a passage between Scylla and Charybdis which your craftiness might overcome. 'It matters not,' you cried when you answered the question, 'it matters not which way the supreme court may hereafter decide as to the abstract question whether slavery may or may not go into a territory under the constitution. The people have the lawful means to introduce or exclude it as they please, for the reason that slavery cannot exist a day or an hour anywhere unless it is supported by local police regulations.'"

"Judge Douglas, uneasy will you lie tonight, for you have uttered the Freeport Heresy."

Senator George W. Norris of Nebraska was the modern iconoclast whom Freeport singled out to revivify the Lincoln epoch at the unveiling of the Crunelle bronze. Norris tore loose with a traditional broadside against "Economic Slavery." Somehow it didn't smack of the same sincerity as did the heresy spoken at Freeport seventy-one years before.

Taft, French, and St. Gaudens have left numerous interpretations of Lincoln, both in Illinois and elsewhere, but our state could and will find place for many more. The Lincoln country is far too feebly marked with mementoes and monuments of Lincoln. Lorado Taft and his studio workers ought to mark the entire Lincoln-Douglas circuit with likenesses and bronzes of that historic two months in American history.

LINCOLN AT FREEPORT

The seventy-first anniversary of the Lincoln-Douglas debate at Freeport, Illinois, was celebrated yesterday by the unveiling of a large bronze statue of a younger Lincoln than is commonly depicted, an alert-minded, resolute man, matured and to some degree polished by his experiences in Washington, but still unworn by the cares of the presidency during the trying years of the civil war. Although the population of Illinois has vastly increased since the day of the debate and the facilities for travel are incomparably better, fewer persons attended the celebration than were present at the debate, a striking commentary on the height of feeling during the days of slavery agitation and the power of the two debaters, Lincoln and Douglas, to speak of great political issues in the language of the people.

In recent years there has been a tendency to make more of the fact that in order to get ahead in politics Lincoln fell in line with the practices, some of them bordering on trickery, which have distinguished the activities of so-called practical politicians throughout the history of the country. There has been some effort to show that Lincoln enjoyed this trading for political advantage, and rose above it only when he was convinced that the time had come to adopt new tactics to win a larger following. At Freeport he disregarded the advice of practical politicians and met Douglas squarely in a fight which he must have felt would go against him. It is clear that in asking whether the territories should have the right to exclude slaves, he created a separation that subsequently proved very embarrassing for Douglas. Certainly he knew the importance of the question, and probably he foresaw its effect on the appeal situation.

As matters developed, Lincoln won that campaign and went on from Freeport to the Republican nomination in 1860, and to the presidency. The Freeport incident is well classed as a turning point in his career. The debate itself was notable for the courage and resourcefulness of the two men. They spoke simply and to the point, they replied in the same spirit, evading no challenge, shrinking from no responsibility. It is probable that such debating in recent political campaigns would attract the same attention. It was a timely thought to remember not only Lincoln at Freeport, but Lincoln and Douglas there for the debate drew out the best in both men, and if it made Lincoln great it was because he faced a great opponent.

Lincoln The Politician

Only a day or two ago the city of Freeport, Illinois, celebrated the seventy-first anniversary of the Lincoln-Douglas debates with the unveiling of a statue of the Great Emancipator. The occasion calls to mind the historical importance of the famous contest which had so much to do with Lincoln's election to the Presidency.

What happened at Freeport was this. Lincoln committed Douglas to the view that slavery might be excluded from the territories of the United States by unfriendly legislation. Only a year before, in the Dred Scott case, the Supreme Court had expressed the opinion that slavery was everywhere legal, except in the free states. Douglas's concession at Freeport to anti-slavery sentiment did something to bring about that split in the Democratic party in 1860 which made so easy Lincoln's election to the Presidency.

The interesting thing about the Freeport debate, however, is the light it throws on Lincoln's political shrewdness. As a matter of fact, there have been few cannier politicians than this Illinois lawyer. In the whole controversy over slavery, though animated by strong feeling, he never went too far in advance of public opinion.

He expressed the great body of liberal sentiment, but not the radicalism of the abolitionists. His platform in the Lincoln-Douglas debates was not abolition, but no further extension of slavery. At the same time, Lincoln put Douglas in a false position by pressing the Freeport doctrine. And these tactics, though they did not defeat Douglas for the Senatorship for which the two men were contesting, permanently alienated the South from him two years later.

It is no disparagement to speak of Lincoln as a politician. To say this is merely to say that he knew how to get things done, as well as what to choose to do. The practical realization of every political ideal depends in no small degree upon wise political methods. It is because he was a master of such methods that Abraham Lincoln guided so wisely the destinies of the nation in one of the most critical periods in its history.

FREEPORT DOES IT

Freeport has erected a statue to Abraham Lincoln to commemorate the fact that seventy-one years ago the first of the Lincoln-Douglas debates was held there, and it was unveiled Monday. One of these debates was held in Galesburg, the following October 7th, but Galesburg has no statue to either Lincoln or Douglas. The debate here took place on Knox college campus and its anniversary has been celebrated several times. President McKinley and his cabinet were present at one of the early celebrations. President Taft was the speaker on another occasion. Chauncey Depew gave the oration on still another. Many celebrated men have participated.

The only memorial of the debate is, we believe, a tablet on the walls of Knox college, containing a passage of Lincoln's argument here, accusing Douglas of blowing out the moral lights of the nation.

The only other Lincoln memorial here is the monument now in Lincoln Park and containing the text of the famous Gettysburg speech.

Galesburg some day should have two statues, one of Lincoln and one of Douglas, for when the Civil war broke out, Douglas came to his assistance, declaring that there are but two classes in this country—patriots and traitors.

GALVESTON, TEX. MAIL
THURSDAY, AUGUST 29, 1929.

ROCHESTER (NY) TIMES-UNION
Thursday, August 29, 1929

Problem of Liberty

ATTENTION was again turned to Abraham Lincoln's philosophy as a statue of him was unveiled at Freeport, Ill., on the 71st anniversary of the Lincoln-Douglas debate. History reveals that by the speeches which those political rivals made there that day, Stephen A. Douglas defeated Lincoln for the United States senate, but Lincoln won the presidency two years later.

The "Freeport doctrine" which the candidates discussed that August day in 1858 has no political significance now. The Negro slaves have been freed. But the great truth which the gaunt debater proclaimed continues with its force unspent. He said:

"This is a world of compensations; and he who would be no slave must consent to have no slave. Those who deny freedom to others deserve it not for themselves; and, under a just God, cannot long retain it."

The republic does not face a problem of freedom at one crisis or another, but must meet it continually. The task of a free people is that of vigilance to make certain that they remain free. Separate groups, powerful business interests, racial elements are forever busy with their efforts to forge fetters for others as a way to power and profits. Those who prize liberty must be alert to the approach of clanking shackles.

Aggressive interests turn to legislative assemblies seeking laws of preferment. It requires the vigilance of intelligent citizens to discover the fetters concealed in the legal phraseology.

The menace to liberty does not pass. It merely clothes itself differently. Those who love freedom have the eternal task of keeping the law of compensation working against those who would rob others of liberty.

TOLEDO O BLADE
SEPTEMBER 2, 1929

ORATORY

One old gentleman who remembers the debate between Lincoln and Douglas in Freeport, Ill., 71 years ago, tells this story.

Senator Douglas made a brilliant and eloquent speech, and when he finished, the crowd seemed to be with him. Lincoln, an almost unknown figure, arose and stood quietly on the platform for several minutes until the applause for his opponent subsided. Then he raised his hand and said impressively:

"What an orator Judge Douglas is!" That touched off more enthusiasm. When the house grew quiet again, Lincoln resumed with another tribute:

"What a fine presence he has!" More applause. Then Lincoln added:

"How well-rounded his sentences are!" And after another outburst:

"And what a splendid man Judge Douglas is!" Not quite so much applause by this time. Everybody was agreed about it. Why pursue the theme? Lincoln leaned forward and asked confidentially:

"And now, my countrymen, how many of you can tell me one thing Judge Douglas said?"

There was no reply. From that time on, Lincoln was listened to attentively and respectfully.

A wonderful thing is oratory. It always "gets" the crowd. The orator with a fine presence, a booming voice, a string of stories and a bag of stage tricks can send an audience crazy. And who of them, when he has ended, remembers his argument, if he had any, or can quote anything but a funny story or two?

IOWA CITY IA PRESS-CITIZEN
FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 13, 1929.

LINCOLN LORE

Bulletin of the Lincoln National Life Foundation - - - - - Dr. Louis A. Warren, Editor.
Published each week by The Lincoln National Life Insurance Company, of Fort Wayne, Indiana.

No. 229

FORT WAYNE, INDIANA

August 28, 1933

SEVENTY-FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE LINCOLN-DOUGLAS DEBATES

FREEPORT, AUGUST 27, 1858

Freeport, scene of the second debate, is in the extreme northern part of the state. In 1858 it was a town of about four or five thousand inhabitants. It boasted an excellent hotel called the Brewster House, and it was not until recently that this well-built structure was razed.

Douglas arrived in Freeport the evening before the debate and a celebration was arranged for him at the Brewster House. Lincoln came on the special train Friday morning and was also received by the reception committee at the Brewster House. While Lincoln made his headquarters at this hotel Douglas was entertained at the home of Mr. Brawley.

The weather, on Friday, October 27, was cold, cloudy, and threatening, but even the unfavorable weather did not keep the people away. A larger crowd than attended the debate at Ottawa was on hand, estimated by some to reach 20,000 but possibly those present did not exceed 15,000. The platform for the debators was constructed in Goddard Grove, adjoining the city on the north.

Plans had been made for Mr. Douglas to be taken to the place of meeting in a splendid six-horse coach, but when it was observed that Lincoln's conveyance from the Brewster House to Goddard Grove was a Conestoga wagon Douglas abandoned the coach.

The debate began at two o'clock, Lincoln speaking first for one hour. Douglas followed for one hour and a half, and the final half hour was taken up by Lincoln in rebuttal. During the entire three hours the vast audience remained standing as no seating facilities were available.

Speech of Lincoln

Introduction

Outlines his plan of procedure, giving one hour of his time to the Douglas speech at Ottawa (paragraph 1).

Argument

A. Interrogatories.

The seven questions asked by Douglas at Ottawa considered and then answered as follows (2-18):

1. Under the Constitution the people of the southern states are entitled to a congressional fugitive slave law (19).
2. If we own the country there is no alternative but to admit slave states into the Union (20).
3. Answer to third question same as second (21).
4. Would be very glad to see Congress abolish slavery in the District of Columbia if proper provisions were made for it (22).

5. States he is not sufficiently informed to give opinion about abolition of slave trade between the states (23).

6. Written answer submitted about prohibition of slavery in all the territories (24).

7. Written answer also submitted with reference to acquisition of new territories unless slavery is first prohibited (24).

Submits four interrogations for Douglas to answer, including the now famous second question (25-31).

B. The Republican Resolutions.

Disclaims any responsibility for the set of resolutions read by Douglas at Ottawa (32).

The resolutions were not passed at Springfield as Douglas alleged (33-35).

C. The Pro-Slavery Conspiracy.

Introduction of Nebraska Bill evidence of conspiracy (36).

It is possible for men to conspire to do "a good and blessed thing" (37).

Douglas's voting against amendment to Nebraska Bill cited as evidence of his part in conspiracy (38).

Vote could only be rational and intelligent as it contemplated a decision of the Supreme Court (39).

The Chase amendment voted down made room for the Dred Scott decision which goes far to make slavery national (40-43).

Douglas in the LeCompton Constitution controversy occupied the identical position which he (Lincoln) occupies in the present discussion over the pro-slavery conspiracy (44-46).

Speech of Douglas

Introduction

Compliments vast audience on respectful attention paid Mr. Lincoln (paragraph 1).

Argument

A. Interrogatories.

Comments on bringing Lincoln to define his position and proceeds to answer questions Lincoln put to him (2).

1. It having been decided that Kansas has enough people for a slave state, I hold that she has enough for a free state (3-5).

2. The people of a territory can, by lawful means, exclude slavery from their limits prior to the formation of a state constitution (6-8).

3. Implies he will abide by decision of Supreme Court and rebukes

Lincoln for inferring that it would violate the Constitution of the United States (9-10).

4. Whenever it becomes necessary, in our growth and progress, to acquire more territory I am in favor of it, without reference to the question of slavery (11-16).

B. The Republican Resolutions.

Admits resolutions credited to Springfield may not have been drawn up on right spot (17-18).

Presents evidence on which he relied for statement about resolutions being written at Springfield (19-22).

Reads resolutions adopted at Rockford Convention (23-29).

Lincoln attempted to dodge responsibility of platform (30-33).

Compares old Whig and "Black Republican" parties and states Lincoln and Trumbull are trying to abolishize both Republican and Democratic parties (34-41).

Reads resolutions demanded by Lovejoy and shows those who voted for them voted for Lincoln (42-54).

C. The "House Divided" Question.

Reads paragraph from Lincoln's "House Divided" speech (55-56).

If the states of the Union cannot exist half slave and half free as Lincoln claims, then Lincoln must be in favor of making them all free (57-59).

D. The Pro-Slavery Conspiracy.

Lincoln's argument about a pro-slavery conspiracy a charge of corruption against the Supreme Court and two presidents (60).

Reviews his own attitude toward the Washington Union and denies allegation of Lincoln (61-64).

Mr. Lincoln's Rejoinder

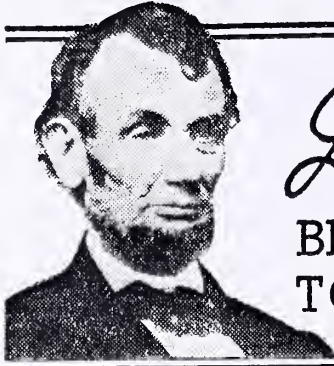
Introduction and comment on Douglas's charge of "vulgarity and black-guardism" in the audience (paragraphs 1-2).

Comments on Douglas's reference to the resolutions and platform of the Republican party and his own relation to them (3-5).

Asks audience to read his "House Divided" speech and see if they discover any of the "bugaboos" which frighten Judge Douglas (6).

Refers to his answer to Douglas's question about slave states entering the Union (7-8).

Claims Douglas made charges against higher dignitaries than the editor of the Washington Union. Shows that Douglas in his speech of March 22, 1858, refers to a "fatal blow" that was being struck by higher authorities (9-23).



Lincoln's Birthday

BRINGS INTERESTING MEMORIES TO SOUTHLAND RESIDENTS

Dress Recalls Celebrated Debate

No belle of 1858 was prouder than is Mrs. H. D. Bentley, 241 South Hudson avenue, Pasadena, when she wears her mother's dress.

And her mother could not possibly have been as proud of the hoop-skirted old Florentine silk gown. It was made especially for her to wear at the reception which preceded that Lincoln-Douglas debate at Freeport, Ill., in 1858.

AUTHORITY ON LINCOLN

Mrs. Bentley, an authority on Lincoln, wears the old frock regularly several times a year, with dignity and a difference. It is beginning to wear out, and she sadly views the wear, for there is no way to replace it.

The silk is brown and green striped and changeable, with a taffeta-like rustle, and a brown cambric lining. It is trimmed with green lacy silk galloon, and is revealingly low-cut and formal.

Mrs. Bentley has black lace mitts, a hair bracelet and a bonnet of Etruscan braid, all of which her mother wore with the Lincoln-Douglas gown. She wears them too, and carries a very old fan that came from Paris.

When Mrs. Bentley was president of the Freeport Women's Club, back in 1903, she was instrumental in marking the site of the famous debate with a granite boulder. President Theodore Roosevelt made the official dedication.

RECALLS SPEECH

"And there I was," Mrs. Bentley blushes, still embarrassed, "making a speech before the President of the United States."

Mrs. Bentley has two white-haired sons, but she is still a young belle as she wears the old dress and the old mitts, bracelet and bonnet, and she sips a bit of tea from a very old cup as she waves the old fan.

That is the way she looks when she reminisces about Lincoln, and the many stories her



Mrs. H. D. Bentley in the hoop-skirted Florentine silk gown her mother wore to a reception preceding the Lincoln-Douglas debate at Freeport, Ill., in 1858.

Times photo

father and mother used to tell her of the President that stood six feet four inches tall. Tomorrow she will wear the costume and speak before the Pasadena

Breakfast Club at the Altadena Country Club. She will talk of the debate that won Douglas the Senate seat but lost him the Presidency back in 1858.

LINCOLN LORE

Bulletin of the Lincoln National Life Foundation - - - - Dr. Louis A. Warren, Editor
Published each week by The Lincoln National Life Insurance Company, Fort Wayne, Indiana

Number 778

FORT WAYNE, INDIANA

March 6, 1944

THE FREEPORT DILEMMA QUESTION

Three very ambitious statesmen speaking in the Senate chamber on March 3, 1854, ninety years ago this month, engaged in a controversy which indirectly brought to the front their presidential aspirations. Stephen A. Douglas was addressing the Senate on the Nebraska and Kansas question, with Seward and Chase speaking in rebuttal. When the inevitable "personalities" entered into the discussion, Douglas accused Seward of calling a certain class of the New York senator's constituents, "dough-faces," and further implied that Chase gained his seat in the Senate through a bargain. In the light of subsequent developments, a comment, by Chase, with respect to Douglas, is of more general interest as he alleged that the measure which the Illinois Senator was then advocating was offered "as a bid for presidential votes." Thus as early as 1854, and probably much earlier, "The Little Giant" was looked upon widely as a potential candidate for the presidency.

The attitude of Douglas toward the Missouri Compromise with his Popular Sovereignty appeal and his Lecompton Constitution stand, had brought him into the senatorial canvas of 1858, with an immense, popular following throughout the nation, regardless of his brush with the Democratic administration, headed by Buchanan.

One by one his opponents in the Senate had been silenced by his eloquent and logical arguments, but it remained for one of his contemporaries, from his own state of Illinois, to blast forever his hopes of gaining the presidency. It will always be a mystery why Douglas, the outstanding spokesman for his party, consented to enter into a series of formal debates during the senatorial contest of 1848, with Abraham Lincoln, who had served but one term in Washington as a Representative.

Not only did Douglas blunder in agreeing to debate with Lincoln, but also very unwisely at Ottawa in the first contest in the series, he asked Lincoln a series of formal questions. He should have anticipated that Lincoln in turn might ask some questions which would not be easily answered, and this very reaction occurred at Freeport in the second debate of the series.

According to Henry C. Whitney, who was present at a conference at the Brewster House just before the debate, Lincoln read the questions he had prepared to several of his friends, including, Washburn, Hitt, Turner and Judd. Washburn, the spokesman, advised against the "Dilemma" question, fearing it would backfire and injure Lincoln; nevertheless, Lincoln put the

question to his opponent in these words:

"Can the people of a United States territory in any lawful way, against the wish of any citizen of the United States, exclude slavery from its limits, prior to the forming of a State constitution?"

Douglas not only replied to this question in the affirmative, but elaborated upon it much to Lincoln's delight, and his reply was to furnish the basis of many comments which Lincoln made in subsequent debates. This was the answer Douglas made.

"In my opinion the people of a territory can, by lawful means, exclude slavery from their limits prior to the formation of a State constitution. It matters not what way the Supreme Court may hereafter decide as to the abstract question whether slavery may or may not go into a territory under the Constitution, the people have the lawful means to introduce or exclude it as they please, for the reason that slavery can not exist a day or an hour anywhere unless it is supported by local police regulations. Those police regulations can only be established by the local legislature, and if the people are opposed to slavery they will elect representatives to that body who will, by unfriendly legislation, effectually prevent the introduction of it into their midst. If, on the contrary, they are for it, their legislation will favor its extension."

After taking his seat in Congress, Douglas still further elaborated on the answer he made to Lincoln at Freeport, by contributing to *Harpers' Magazine*, for September 1859, a lengthy discussion on "Popular Sovereignty in the Territories—The Dividing line between Federal and Local Authority." After quoting from "the distinguished Republican Standard Bearer," (Abraham Lincoln) Douglas then identified the three separate groups in the Democratic Party, which apparently Lincoln observed were in existence when he put the "Dilemma" question to Douglas. They follow:

"First. Those who believe that the Constitution of the United States neither establishes nor prohibits slavery in the States or Territories beyond the power of the people legally to control it, but 'leaves the people thereof perfectly free to form and regulate their domestic institutions in their own way, subject only to the Constitution of the United States.'

"Second. Those who believe that the Constitution establishes slavery in the Territories, and withholds from Congress and the Territorial Legislature

the power to control it, and who insist that, in the event the Territorial Legislature fails to enact the requisite laws for its protection, it becomes the imperative duty of Congress to interpose its authority and furnish such protection.

"Third. Those who, while professing to believe that the Constitution establishes slavery in the Territories beyond the power of Congress or the Territorial Legislature to control it, at the same time protest against the duty of Congress to interfere for its protection; but insist that it is the duty of the judiciary to protect and maintain slavery in the Territories without any law upon the subject."

Jeremiah S. Black, Attorney General in Buchanan's cabinet, chose to answer the magazine article, but his name does not appear on his sixteen page pamphlet, entitled, "Observations on Senator Douglas' Views of Popular Sovereignty, expressed in *Harpers' Magazine* for September 1859." The Attorney General felt that Senator Douglas had not stated correctly the difference of opinions between the classes, two and three and did not propose to elaborate upon it. He recognized that Douglas belonged in class one, and then drew the fatal line between, "Douglas had his followers on one hand and the rest of the Democratic Party (classes two and three) on the other." This was the very situation which Lincoln must have visualized at Freeport.

After discussing some minor differences between the groups, the Attorney General stated, "Here we come to the point where opinions diverge. Some insist that no citizens can be deprived of his property in slaves, or in anything else, except by the provision of a State Constitution, or by the act of a State Legislature; while others contend that an unlimited control over private rights may be exercised by a Territorial Legislature as soon as the earliest settlements are made. So strong are the sentiments of Mr. Douglas in favor of the latter doctrine, that if it be not established he threatens us with Mr. Seward's 'irrepressible conflict.'"

When Douglas answered Lincoln's "Dilemma" question by affirming that slavery could be excluded from a territory by the inhabitants, previous to the formation of a state constitution, he broke forever with the southern constituency without whom the Presidency could not be attained. The Charleston Convention confirmed the views of Attorney General Black, and Senator Stephen A. Douglas was on his way out as a spokesman for the South.

Lincoln-Douglas Debate as Heard by an Illinois Boy

"HENRY'S LINCOLN," by Louise
A. Neyhart. [Holiday House, \$1.50.]

Reviewed by Frances D. Heron

Henry Oaks never had driven to Freeport alone, but when clouds threatened the hay crop on the morning of Aug. 27, 1858, Pa let Henry hitch Prince to the buggy and go to Freeport all by himself. Sen. Stephen A. Douglas and Honest Abe Lincoln were to debate.

With 10 shiny pennies in his jeans and the handsomest horse in the state to drive, what boy wouldn't have been set up! Never had there been so many people in Freeport, or so much excitement, or such a feeling of momentous goings-on. Henry proudly wore his Douglas badge. He had it on when he tried on the hats of Mr. Lincoln and Sen. Douglas—getting caught. But Mr. Lincoln was friendly. He even remembered having seen Prince on the road—"that fine spanking white horse."

Mr. Lincoln debated in language that a boy could understand, and any boy or girl from the middle grades up will enjoy seeing and hearing him thru Henry Oaks' eyes and ears. The author has brought a great political and intellectual event most charmingly within the ken of her youngest reader.

This reviewer's 9 year old daughter liked best the scene in which Henry, shaking hands with Mr. Lincoln after the debate, was reminded that he still had on his Douglas badge.

Rare Collection

One of the rare Wordsworthian collections in this country is now on exhibition at Rockford college, Rockford, Ill. It includes books and material owned by Dr. Abbie F. Potts, professor of English literature, and by the college library.

July 1 1945

100 YEARS AGO

from the Tribune and other sources
For Your Historical Scrapbook

Aug. 27, 1858: Today, Freeport, a county seat in northwestern Illinois, will be the scene of the second joint debate between Lincoln and Douglas in their campaign for the senatorial toga. The argument will begin at 2 p. m., with Lincoln to open and close the session of three hours. Last night an excursion train with sleeping cars carried to Freeport many Chicago Republicans and Democrats who were unwilling to miss a word of the contest between the Rail Splitter and the Little Giant. This morning, another excursion train leaves for Freeport, to arrive one hour after the speaking starts. The excursion rate for the round trip is \$4.35.

100 YEARS AGO

from the Tribune and other sources
For Your Historical Scrapbook

Aug. 30, 1858: THE TRIBUNE devotes nearly all its space to the second Lincoln-Douglas debate:

Stepladder headlines: "Great debate between Lincoln and Douglas at Freeport — 5,000 people present — the Dred Scott champion 'brought to his milk' — Great caving-in on the Ottawa forgery — Lincoln tumbles him all over Stephenson county — Verbatim reports of Lincoln's speech, Douglas' answer, and Lincoln's rejoinder."

Editorial comment: "We submit to the intelligent reader that what was left of the pro-slavery leader at Ottawa is here minced up to the satisfaction of the whole world. Douglas has been 'brought to his milk' with a suddenness that spilled the fluid in every direction."

150 MILES AWAY

Chicago, Feb. 12—An article headed "Old Abe—Where Were You?" in the Neighborhood section of THE TRIBUNE [Feb. 11] asked where Abraham Lincoln was on Aug. 28, 1858, the date a historical marker in West Chicago says he debated Stephen Douglas. There is no secret about Lincoln's whereabouts.

Lincoln and Douglas were both at Freeport on Aug. 27, 1858, where the second of the seven debates took place. The 27th was a Friday.

Following the Freeport encounter, Douglas returned to Chicago where he resided in a



modest cottage at 35th street and the lake front, where his tomb now stands. He obviously took the Galena and Chicago Union railroad [present day Chicago & North Western] as this was a direct route, but detrained at Turner's Junction [now West Chicago], an important railroad town then as now, to participate in what appears to have been a pre-scheduled speaking engagement.

Douglas arrived at Turner's Junction at 3:25 p. m., and was received by the firing of a cannon and several bands in an enthusiastic reception despite the uncommonly cold weather for that season of the year. Shawls and overcoats were the order of the day as the crowd listened to him speak for almost two hours.

Capt. Joseph Naper of Naperville presided at the meeting and a crowd of 1,500 people were present. Shortly after the speech, Douglas entrained for Chicago and a week-end of rest and relaxation.

Following the debate at Freeport, Lincoln, like Douglas, spent the night there, both men being registered at the Brewster House. On the 28th, Lincoln entrained on the Illinois Central railroad, southbound to central Illinois where he had scheduled speaking engagements the following week at Tremont [near Pekin], Carlinville, Clinton and Bloomington.

At El Paso, Lincoln detrained from the I. C., to make a connection with a westbound Peoria & Oquawka [present day Toledo, Peoria & Western] train that would take him on to Peoria. His time of arrival at El Paso was 3:40 p. m., 15 minutes later than Douglas' arrival at Turner's Junction. As the crow flies, 149 miles separated El Paso and Turner's Junction.

Lincoln had an hour's wait at El Paso and lunched at Baron Chlopicki's restaurant during the layover. THE CHICAGO TRIBUNE of Sept. 3, 1858, reporting minutely each incident of the campaign, stated "Old Abe was here [El Paso] for an hour on Saturday, en route for Peoria. He soon gathered a crowd around him, and he answered and set at rest the foul aspersions that Douglas and his followers are with such bold effrontery passing current thru the land."

THE TRIBUNE reporter assigned to Lincoln's entourage during the campaign was Horace White, a well-known historical figure in his own right.

Lincoln spent the following day [Sunday] in Peoria and in the evening boarded a river boat for Pekin on his way to the Tremont meeting on Monday [30th]. Douglas remained in Chicago until Tuesday and "hit the trail" again to fill a series of speaking engagements beginning at Joliet.

El Paso has its own historical marker that correctly states Lincoln passed thru there on that day. In view of the contemporary documentary evidence showing clearly the movements of the two men, it is a positive fact that Douglas was present at Turner's Junction on Aug. 28, 1858, while Lincoln was 150 miles away.

THEODORE S. CHARNNEY
Proprietor of Keepsake Press

Douglas responds



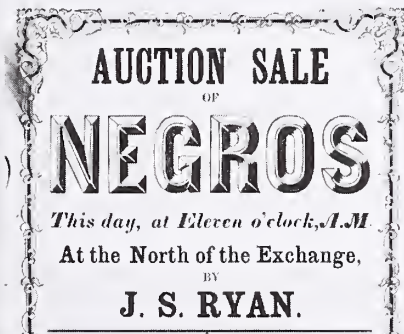
Stephen A. Douglas

Douglas answered, "the people have the lawful means to introduce it, or exclude it as they please, for the reason that slavery cannot exist a day or an hour anywhere, unless it is supported by local police regulations. Those regulations can only be established by the local legislature, and if the people are opposed to slavery they will elect representatives to that body who will by unfriendly legislation effectively prevent the introduction of it into their midst." In other words, Douglas was saying territorial legislatures could not directly prohibit slavery, but they could pass laws that would make it difficult for slavery to exist or fail to pass laws that were needed to protect slavery like a fugitive slave law and the other customary slave codes.

Douglas was returned to the Senate by the narrowest of margins. But his fear that he would anger the proponents of slavery

came true. At the 1860 Democratic National Convention held in April in Charleston, South Carolina some delegates from the South insisted on a plank in the party platform that would demand Congress pass federal regulations that would create a fugitive slave law and other slave codes in the territories. Thereby, superceding the territorial legislatures right to prevent the "introduction of slavery into their midst." Other members of the Democratic Party refused to have this plank in the party platform. Eventually the Democratic Party split and had two candidates for President in 1860. The "Northern" Democrats ran Stephen Douglas and the "Southern" Democrat candidate was John Breckinridge. This split in the Democratic Party helped Abraham Lincoln become the first Republican President.

Events leading to the Civil War



Kansas-Nebraska Act (1854):

Senators Glenville Dodge (Iowa) and Stephen Douglas sponsored many "Nebraska Bills" during the late 1840's and 1850's. The purpose of the bill was to create a territorial government in the vast land between the Missouri River and the Continental Divide [and therefore make a northern route for the Transcontinental Railroad more feasible]. Every attempt to create a Nebraska Territory was defeated by Southern Senators because any states carved out of the territory would be free because of the Missouri Compromise. In 1854 Stephen Douglas sponsored the

Freeport Doctrine (1858):

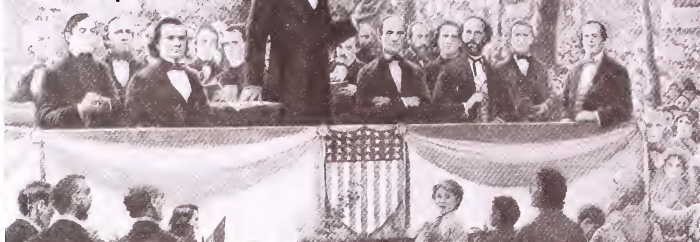
In the Freeport Debate Lincoln backed Douglas into a corner by asking, in light of the Dred Scott case, how could a territory prevent slavery? If Douglas said they couldn't, he would lose votes in Illinois where most of the people supported a restriction on slavery in the territories. If he said they could, he would lose support in the South and this might hinder his chances of being elected President in 1860. Douglas said a territory could prevent slavery by failing to pass favorable legislation. In other words the territorial legislature could make it difficult for slave owners to re-capture

Lincoln Home

National Park Service
U.S. Department of the Interior
Lincoln Home National Historic Site



The Freeport Doctrine



Artist Interpretation of Lincoln-Douglas Debate

In 1858 Abraham Lincoln and Stephen Douglas held a series of debates as they campaigned for the U. S. Senate seat from Illinois. In these debates one candidate would speak for an hour, the second for an hour and a half, followed by the first with a half-hour rebuttal. Douglas opened and closed four of the seven debates. The second of these debates was held in Freeport, Illinois on August 27, 1858. At Freeport, Lincoln asked Douglas whether the people of a territory could lawfully exclude slavery prior to the creation of a state constitution. Douglas' answer became known as the Freeport Doctrine and was another in a chain of events, all "linked" to each other, which led to Lincoln's election as the 16th President and to civil war.

Douglas on Slavery

The two "links" just before the Freeport Doctrine were the Kansas-Nebraska Act, championed by Douglas, and the Supreme Court's decision in the Dred Scott Case.

Prior to passage of Douglas' Kansas-Nebraska Act, the Missouri Compromise had prohibited slavery in the Louisiana Territory north of 36 degrees, 30 minutes north latitude. The Kansas-Nebraska Act overthrew this and allowed the possibility of slavery in what had been the Louisiana Territory north of the "Missouri Compromise" line.

In the Dred Scott Decision, the U.S. Supreme Court declared that negroes could not be U.S. citizens and that Congress and its designated representative, a territorial

legislature, could not prohibit slavery in a territory. This angered many in Illinois and it was a fatal blow to Douglas' theory of popular sovereignty. Douglas had championed popular sovereignty as the end to all the controversy over the spread of slavery. Douglas wanted to let the people of a territory decide if they would have slavery or not. Lincoln and others contended it was the duty of the national government to regulate slavery in the territories, and the government should follow through with what they considered were the wishes of the "Founding Fathers" and prohibit slavery in the territories. The Dred Scott decision put an end to both popular sovereignty and the national prohibition of slavery in the territories.

Lincoln paints Douglas into a corner



Missouri Compromise Map

The question Lincoln posed at Freeport, "could the people of a territory in any lawful way, against the wishes of any citizen of the United States, exclude slavery from their limits prior to formation of a state constitution," put Douglas in a quandary. If he said "no" it would displease many people in Illinois and he would likely lose the 1858 election for Senate to Lincoln. If he said "yes," he had to explain how and he risked the possibility of angering the proponents of slavery who felt it was their right to take their property (their slaves) into any territory. The defenders of slavery

felt that if they couldn't they were being denied equal protection under the law. If Douglas chose the latter it would hurt his hoped for campaign for the presidency in 1860.

Douglas had answered this question before, and Lincoln knew what the answer would be. But Lincoln wanted to make Douglas answer in what had become a national forum. Through the medium of the telegraph, the Debates were being published the next day in newspapers around the country.

Douglas responds



Stephen A. Douglas

Douglas answered, "the people have the lawful means to introduce it, or exclude it as they please, for the reason that slavery cannot exist a day or an hour anywhere, unless it is supported by local police regulations. Those regulations can only be established by the local legislature, and if the people are opposed to slavery they will elect representatives to that body who will by unfriendly legislation effectively prevent the introduction of it into their midst." In other words, Douglas was saying territorial legislatures could not directly prohibit slavery, but they could pass laws that would make it difficult for slavery to exist or fail to pass laws that were needed to protect slavery like a fugitive slave law and the other customary slave codes.

Douglas was returned to the Senate by the narrowest of margins. But his fear that he would anger the proponents of slavery

came true. At the 1860 Democratic National Convention held in April in Charleston, South Carolina some delegates from the South insisted on a plank in the party platform that would demand Congress pass federal regulations that would create a fugitive slave law and other slave codes in the territories. Thereby, superseding the territorial legislatures right to prevent the "introduction of slavery into their midst." Other members of the Democratic Party refused to have this plank in the party platform. Eventually the Democratic Party split and had two candidates for President in 1860. The "Northern" Democrats ran Stephen Douglas and the "Southern" Democrat candidate was John Breckinridge. This split in the Democratic Party helped Abraham Lincoln become the first Republican President.

Events leading to the Civil War

AUCTION SALE
OF
NEGROS

This day, at Eleven o'clock, A.M.
At the North of the Exchange.

J. S. RYAN.

1	Kate,	Age,	23
2	Sarah,	"	5
3	Maria,	"	2
1	Ralph,	Age,	32
2	Unity,	"	30
1	Jaffet,	Age,	30
2	Hetty,	"	60
1	Miley,	Age,	35
2	Mary,	"	16
3	Julia,	"	8
1	Mary,	"	35
2	Peggy,	"	17
3	Sally,	"	60
1	Rosanna,	Age,	40
2	Paul,	"	17
3	Dinah,	"	16
4	James,	"	12
1	Rachel,	Age,	31
2	Madilla,	"	11
3	Jacob,	"	10
4	Frank,	"	1
1	Isabella,	Age,	17
1	Maria,	"	18

March 8, 1855.

Advertisement for a Slave auction

Kansas-Nebraska Act (1854):

Senators Glenville Dodge (Iowa) and Stephen Douglas sponsored many "Nebraska Bills" during the late 1840's and 1850's. The purpose of the bill was to create a territorial government in the vast land between the Missouri River and the Continental Divide [and therefore make a northern route for the Transcontinental Railroad more feasible]. Every attempt to create a Nebraska Territory was defeated by Southern Senators because any states carved out of the territory would be free because of the Missouri Compromise. In 1854 Stephen Douglas sponsored the Kansas-Nebraska Act. It would create two territories and allow the people who moved there to decide if they would be slave or free territories.

Dred Scott Decision (1857):

In March of 1857, just a few days after James Buchanan was inaugurated as the fifteenth President, the Supreme Court issued its decision in the Dred Scott Case. Scott was a slave who had been in a part of Wisconsin Territory where slavery was illegal because of the Missouri Compromise. The Supreme Court had originally voted 5 to 4 on the case, but at the last minute two Justices from Pennsylvania [Buchanan's home state] switched to the majority. The Supreme Court said: 1) Dred Scott could not sue because blacks could not be citizens of the United States [individual states could grant them state citizenship but they were denied U. S. citizenship because the Constitution was meant to apply only to white men]. 2) Congress had erred in the Missouri Compromise because the Constitution prohibited the National Government from regulating slavery in the territories.

Freeport Doctrine (1858):

In the Freeport Debate Lincoln backed Douglas into a corner by asking, in light of the Dred Scott case, how could a territory prevent slavery? If Douglas said they couldn't, he would lose votes in Illinois where most of the people supported a restriction on slavery in the territories. If he said they could, he would lose support in the South and this might hinder his chances of being elected President in 1860. Douglas said a territory could prevent slavery by failing to pass favorable legislation. In other words the territorial legislature could make it difficult for slave owners to re-capture escaped slaves. Because the Lincoln v. Douglas debates received national coverage the South now saw Douglas as an enemy to slavery.

Southern Demand for a Federal Slave Code (1860):

The Freeport Doctrine caused the South to demand a Federal Slave Code. They wanted the Federal Government to guarantee slavery could exist in all territories. They also wanted the Federal Government to guarantee that a slave owner could travel anywhere in the North with his slave, without having the slave taken away from him by a state court. [Just like an Ohio farmer could travel with his piece of property, a horse, anywhere in the South without having it taken away from him by a state court].

For Further Reading

Donald, David Herbert. 1995. *Lincoln*. New York: Simon and Schuster.

Jaffa, Harry V. 1959. *The Crisis of the House Divided*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday

Johannsen, Robert W. 1973. *Stephen A. Douglas*. New York: Oxford University Press.

McPherson, James M. 1988. *Battle Cry of Freedom*. New York: Ballantine Books.

Zarefsky, David. 1993. *Lincoln Douglas and Slavery: In the Crucible of Public Debate*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press

The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln - 2004, <http://www.hti.umich.edu/l/lincoln>

Douglas Lincoln Debate



AMONG the momentous events of all nations, all ages and all history stand the Lincoln-Douglas debates. And pre-eminent in those debates are this question asked by Abraham Lincoln and this answer made by Stephen A. Douglas, August 27, 1858, at Freeport, Ill.

Question.—Can the people of a United States territory, in any lawful way, against the wish of any

citizen of the United States, exclude slavery from its limits prior to the formation of a state constitution?

Answer.—It matters not what way the Supreme court may hereafter decide as to the abstract question whether slavery may or may not go into a territory under the constitution, the people have the lawful means to introduce it or exclude it as they please, for the reason that slavery cannot exist a day or an hour anywhere, unless it is supported by local police regulations. Those police regulations can only be established by the local legislature; and if the people are opposed to slavery, they will elect representatives to that body who will by unfriendly legislation effectually prevent the introduction of it into their midst. If, on the contrary, they are for it, their legislation will favor its extension. Hence, no matter what the decision of the Supreme court may be on that abstract question, still the right of the people to make a Slave Territory or a Free Territory is perfect and complete under the Nebraska bill.

These Lincoln-Douglas debates—sometimes they are called the "Freeport Debates" because of the momentous results of the foregoing question and answer—are unique in our history. Never before or since have two citizens engaged in a series of public discussions under such remarkable circumstances. While the nominal issue was the election of members of the Illinois state legislature, which was to fill the United States senatorship, for which the two debaters were candidates, the real issue was one so tremendous in importance that it was destined within a few years to plunge the country into the greatest civil war of all history. So Lincoln did not exaggerate when at Quincy, with the prophet's vision, he spoke of the seven debates as "successive acts of a drama to be enacted not merely in the face of audiences like this, but in the face of the nation and to some extent of the face of the world."

To be sure, the two men were old-time rivals. They had competed in the courts, for the hand of the same maiden and for political favors. Douglas had become nationally famous; Lincoln was a local celebrity. Douglas was the leader of a great national party; Lincoln was an organizer of a new and untried party. Douglas was the aggressive creator of the policy of "popular sovereignty," pretending to be indifferent "whether the people voted slavery up or voted it down." Lincoln was

the earnest defender of the proposition that "all men are created free and equal." And this time it was a contest between them for the United States senatorship from Illinois.

But Lincoln knew—whether or not Douglas realized the situation—that the contest between them involved more than election to the senate. This is made clear in his speech of acceptance of the nomination made by the Republican state convention the preceding June. Here are his immortal words, which sounded the keynote of the whole momentous issue which was confronting the nation:

"If we could first know where we are, and whither we are tending, we could better judge what to do now, and how to do it. We are now far into the fifth year since a policy was initiated with the avowed object and confident promise of putting an end to slavery agitation. Under the operation of that policy, that agitation has not only not ceased, but has constantly augmented. In my opinion, it will not cease until a crisis shall have been reached and passed. 'A house divided against itself cannot stand.' I believe this government can not endure permanently half slave and half free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved; I do not expect the house to fall; but I do expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing, or all the other. Either the opponents of slavery will arrest the further spread of it, and place it where the public mind shall rest in the belief that it is the course of ultimate extinction, or its advocates will push it forward till it shall become alike lawful in all the states, old as well as new, north as well as south."

And Illinois knew that this was more than a personal and local contest between two political rivals. Ottawa, aided by the rest of the state, started off the debates in a blaze of glory. Rival processions, the roar of cannon, a city decked with flags and an enormous crowd marked the occasion. Each of the debates attracted the same great crowds. Neither party spared pains or expense. Delegations marched in from every cross-roads within fifty miles. Many of these processions were a mile long. In the main parades were floats bearing young women representing the states of the Union; among the Republican beauties was usually one in mourning—Kansas—and over the Democratic maidens floated a banner with the inscription, "Protect Us From Negro Husbands."

Finally they all assembled before the grandstand; seats could be provided for comparatively few, and the most of the people were standing. Democrats and Republicans were packed into a solid mass together, good-naturedly talking and chaffing each other. Upon the stage were seated prominent men of both parties. A chairman and secretary, and time keepers who had previously been agreed upon, were early in their seats, but made no effort to restrain the great crowd until after the speakers had arrived and received the deafening applause of their followers.

It was a curious sight when the contestants ascended to their places on the platform—Lincoln was so tall and Douglas so short, Lincoln so angular and Douglas so sturdy, Lincoln so spare and Douglas so compact and rotund. They alternated in opening and closing the debates—the opening speaker an hour, his competitor following with an hour and a half, and the opening speaker closing with half an hour.

And the whole country realized the importance of this local Illinois contest. It was understood that this was not so much a contest of men as of principles. From the beginning all semblance of a local personal struggle vanished. The eyes of the nation were on the two champions. Every newspaper detailed their speech and action. Every speech was published in full. Men on either side made the arguments of their champion their own. It was "Old Abe" and "The Little Giant" over again at every cross-roads. Illinois was the political and moral battle-ground of the nation.

And at Freeport Lincoln made it plain that he stood ready to sacrifice the senatorship in order to advance the anti-slavery cause. At the Ottawa debate, six days before, Douglas had asked seven questions as to Lincoln's attitude toward the various phases of slavery and its management. At Freeport Lincoln answered these seven questions frankly. He confessed his repugnance to slavery, but said he did not believe in immediate drastic action to abolish it. He opposed its extension. He declared it was the duty of congress to prohibit slavery in the territories. And then he put in turn four questions to Douglas, of which the second was the momentous question with the far-reaching results.

Lincoln put this question to Douglas against the frantic protests of his friends and political advisers. They told him it would cause his defeat and would lose him the senatorship. And Lincoln's reply was this:

"Gentlemen, I am killing larger game. If Douglas answers, he can never be president, and the battle of 1860 is worth a hundred of this."

Lincoln, as history has shown, was a 100 per cent patriot and American. It is no disparagement to add that no shrewder politician ever ran for office. To appreciate the shrewdness of this particular move a glance at previous events is necessary.

The historic "Missouri Compromise" act of 1820 prohibited slavery in the territories north of 36 degrees, thirty minutes, latitude. This was repealed and congress substituted for it Douglas' Kansas-Nebraska act of 1854. This empowered the people of the territories to determine for themselves whether or not they should have slavery.

Then came the "Dred Scott decision" of the United States Supreme court in 1857. This held that congress has exceeded its authority in the passage of the Missouri Compromise act; that slaves were property, and that the owners of slaves had the right to take this property into the territories and hold it there like any other property, no matter what the wishes of the people of the territory in question. This decision was the direct opposite of the doctrine of Douglas' Kansas-Nebraska act. The decision meant that slavery could exist in Kansas, whether the Kansas people were or were not willing. Moreover, it opened the door wide for the extension of slavery to the West and North.

When Lincoln ended his single term in congress in March of 1849 he practically gave up politics and devoted himself to his law practice. The passage of the Kansas-Nebraska act in 1854 stirred him deeply and he was soon again making political addresses on the slavery situation. He and Douglas were quickly engaged in a forensic duel. In 1856 at the organization of the Republican party at Bloomington, Ill., Lincoln made an impressive speech, which fixed his position as leader of the anti-slavery forces in Illinois. There was civil war in Kansas and slavery was the issue of the day. In June of 1857 at Springfield, Ill., Douglas made an elaborate address on the Kansas-Nebraska act and the Dred Scott decision. Two weeks later Lincoln made a telling reply.

Thus the two great protagonists were in fighting array as the 1858 election of a successor to Senator Douglas drew near. Douglas was unopposed in his own party and the Republican state convention of June 6, 1858, nominated Lincoln.

The battle was soon in full swing. Douglas assumed the offensive and Lincoln dogged his footsteps. After each had made speeches Lincoln, with his unflinching political shrewdness, challenged Douglas to a formal debate on the questions at issue. He wanted a chance to pin the elusive Douglas down to facts. Douglas made the mistake of accepting the challenge. The terms provided that the men should meet in seven congressional districts—they had already spoken in the districts in which Chicago and Springfield were located.

The meeting places and dates were: Ottawa, August 21; Freeport, August 27; Jonesboro, September 15; Charleston, September 18; Galesburg, October 7; Quincy, October 13; Alton, October 15. Douglas insisted on a schedule that gave him four openings and closings and Lincoln only three. Lincoln agreed; he wanted a chance at the Democrats, who would be sure to stay to the end of at least four of the debates.

Under these circumstances and conditions, therefore, Lincoln's question at Freeport put Douglas on the horns of an awkward dilemma. If he answered "No" he would be going back on his own doctrine of "popular sovereignty"—which his enemies called "pro-slavery" and considered his bid for Southern votes at such time as it might please him to run for president. If he said "Yes," he would place himself on record as denying the doctrine of the Dred Scott decision that slaves were property.

Lincoln's reading of the situation was that Douglas would not dare to say "No" and would choose to say "Yes." And if he denied that slaves were property and could be handled like any other property he would antagonize the slavery interests, alienate the Southern democracy and make it possible for him to achieve the presidency.

Douglas said "Yes," as Lincoln had foreseen.

In the election for senator the Republican ticket received 125,430 votes and the Democratic ticket 121,609. But by virtue of an unfair legislative apportionment the Democrats had 54 votes on joint ballot in the general assembly and the Republicans 46. So Douglas was re-elected senator.

In the presidential election of 1860 the South turned against Douglas and the Democratic party was split in two. Douglas was nominated by a faction of it. With Douglas of Illinois as the candidate of the Northern Democrats, the Republicans were compelled to nominate a candidate from Illinois. The logic of the situation forced the nomination of Lincoln.

Douglas was defeated for the presidency as Lincoln had foreseen.

Out of Lincoln's election came the Civil War.

Out of the Civil War came Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation. Thus Lincoln fulfilled his own prophecy:

"A house divided against itself cannot stand. I believe this government cannot endure permanently half-slave and half-free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved; I do not expect the house to fall; but I do expect it will cease to be divided."

And all this goes straight back to that question asked by Abraham Lincoln and answered by Stephen A. Douglas August 27, 1858, at Freeport, Ill.

PILOTED THE TRAIN

On Which Lincoln and Douglas Rode
To the Freeport Meeting.

SPECIAL DISPATCH TO THE ENQUIRER.

Chicago, Ill., February 5.—C. C. Jones, the railroad engineer who claims to have pulled the train on which Lincoln and Douglas rode to at least one of their debating places, is, at the age of 84 years, an inmate of the Home for Aged and Disabled Railroad Employees of America, at Highland Park. Jones says he hauled Lincoln to the Freeport meeting, one of the most noted of the series, where Lincoln forced the "Little Giant" to take a stand on the slavery question and where the famous "Freeport doctrine" first was enunciated. Jones says he can remember the crowds, but he didn't see the President until he lay in his casket. On the day that he piloted the train to Freeport, the crowds were so thick that he couldn't even catch a glimpse of the debater.

THE TURNING POINT IN LINCOLN'S CAREER.

There are turning points in every person's life. Abraham Lincoln, born Feb 12, 1809, arrived at the critical one in his marvelous career June 16, 1858, when, at the state convention of Illinois republicans, he said, taking for his text, "A house divided against itself cannot stand":

"I believe this government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free."

Thereafter he became inevitably, if not explicitly, the champion of an undivided union. But there were obstacles in the path of his championship. Chief of them was Stephen A. Douglas, the "Little Giant." Ignoring all minor antagonists, Lincoln made straight for the idol of the democrats, and challenged him to joint debate. The immediate reward to be hoped for was a U S senatorship. The ultimate prize was as yet concealed in the great hand of God.

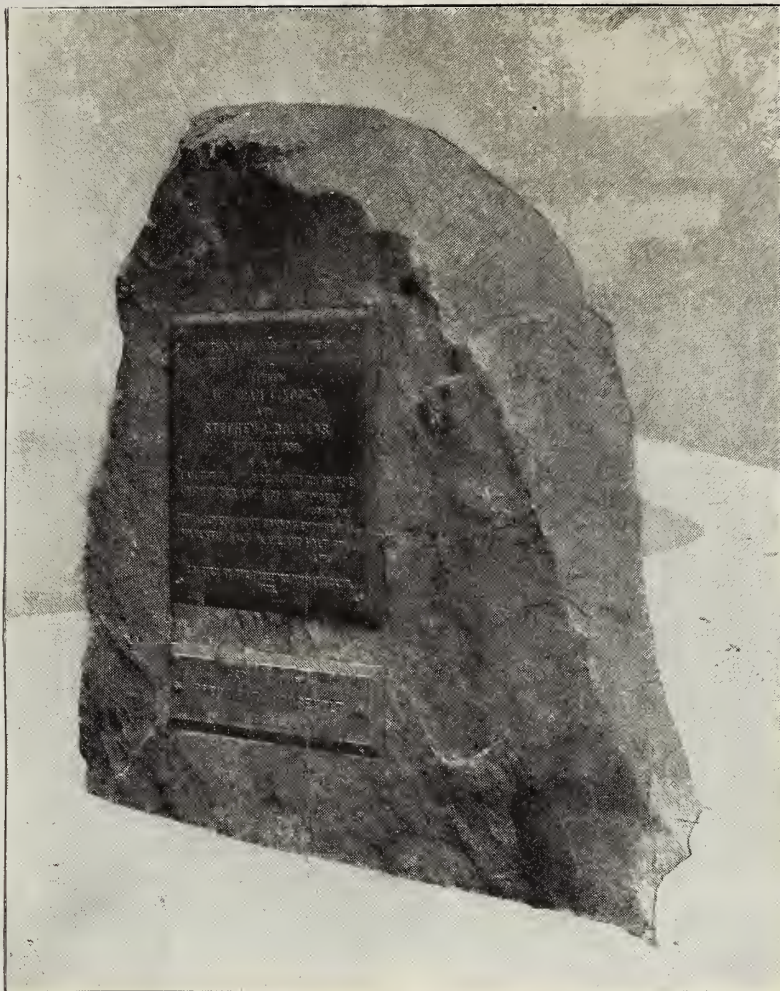
Among the questions Lincoln asked Douglas was this: "Can the people of a United States territory in any lawful way, against the wish of the citizens of the United States, exclude slavery from its limits prior to the formation of a state constitution?" He was told by his friends that if he asked that question it would lose him the senatorship.

"I am after larger game," was his reply. He lost the senatorship, but gained the presidency of the United States two years later.



HERE is the scene of the "Freeport Heresy"—above as it looks today; at right as it looked in 1902 when Teddy Roosevelt dedicated it. It's the Lincoln-Douglas boulder which marks the spot where the two great debaters staged the second of their series of meetings, on Aug. 27, 1858. It was when Lincoln asked Douglas whether the people of a U.S. territory could lawfully exclude slavery before adopting a state constitution. The senator replied that they could, thus uttering the "heresy" that split the Democratic party and helped make Lincoln president. Freeport likes to remind visitors that the Lincoln-Douglas debate isn't the **ONLY** thing that ever happened in the town. But at the dedication at right, and at the dedication of the Lincoln statue below in 1929, thousands of people from the countryside around crowded into Freeport. Looking up at the statue is a 3-year-old Freeporter, Edith Marie Johnson.





The Lincoln-Douglas Boulder at Freeport, Ill.



The Inscription on the
Lincoln Boulder



Within this block was
held the second senatorial
contest between Abraham
Lincoln and Stephen A
Douglas August 27, 1858

"I am not for the dissolution
of the union under any circum-
stances ----- Douglas

The government cannot
endure permanently half slave
and half free Lincoln
Erected by the Freeport Women's
Club - Dedicated by
Theodore Roosevelt

TREEFORTH Dialect

Aug 25, 1858

DRAPER 5

DEBATES

